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Engr'd by J. S. Cooper N.Y.

MAJ. GEN. GEORGE E. PICKETT.

PICKETT'S MEN:

A

FRAGMENT OF WAR HISTORY.

BY

WALTER HARRISON,

A. A. AND INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PICKETT'S DIVISION, ARMY OF
NORTHERN VIRGINIA.

WITH A PORTRAIT OF GENERAL PICKETT.

"CLAY'S HOUSE, 5½ P. M., 17TH JUNE, 1864.

"WE TRIED VERY HARD TO STOP PICKETT'S MEN FROM CAPTURING THE
BREASTWORKS OF THE ENEMY, BUT COULDN'T DO IT.

"R. E. LEE, GENERAL."

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PREFACE.

“WE tried very hard to stop Pickett’s men from capturing the breast-works of the enemy, but couldn’t do it.”—R. E. LEE, General.

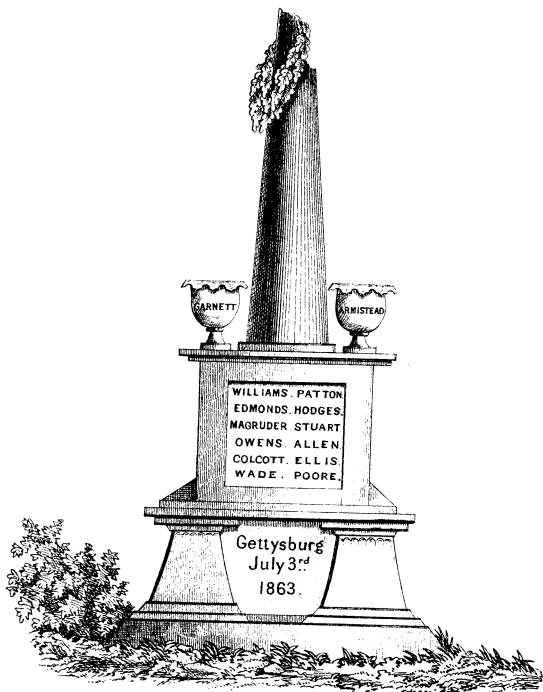
IF any explanation or apology for the publication of this little work, at the present time, be necessary, it must be found in the simple text I have quoted, and in this: The Government of Virginia, during the progress of the war, directed the compilation of a record of the services of the Virginia troops in the field, which, together with a roll of honor, should be preserved among the archives of the State. This work was nearly completed, but never published, the whole of the manuscript having been destroyed by fire upon the evacuation of the city of Richmond. Inspector-General of Pickett’s Division, the author of this fragment of history, was selected to prepare the record of that command. From notes taken at that time, and from an intimate personal knowledge of its then and subsequent history, this work is now offered to the public. It makes no pretence of being a general sketch even of the war. As its title indicates, its chief object is to detail the operations of a particular command; to correct many misapprehensions and errors into which writers of more extended works have fallen, either

through ignorance of the actual events, or false information as to the facts material to a fair judgment of its merits. Whatever its trifling value or importance may be, it is not designed for the vain-glorification of any man or set of men. To "extenuate nothing," much less to "set down aught in malice;" to draw no invidious distinctions, but to pay a just tribute where credit is due, is its sole aim.

To the memory of its thousands fallen in imperishable glory; to the living honor of its hundreds of maimed and scarred veterans; to the fortunate few who have honestly won their laurels without these proud, yet painful testimonials, is this work dedicated. To the derelict in duty, if such there may have been, it has no direction. Let their names stand forever in the shadows of oblivion!

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PICKETT'S MEN.

CHAPTER I.

THE CALL TO ARMS.

ALTHOUGH it is by no means the province of this work to discuss the political questions of the war, the right of secession or revolution on the one side, and the right of coercion on the other, yet it is necessary to preface even this simple recital of facts with an "argument" proper, or brief synopsis of the causes in general, and the sentiments of a particular people, always loyal and true in the strictest sense, which forced them to an appeal to arms as a last resort, after every effort tried towards a compromise and peaceful reconciliation of the difficulties threatening the Federal integrity on the one hand, and the plainest reserved right of individuality of the separate States of the Union, whether of organic principal or internal legislation, on the other. It is the feelings of the masses of the people, not the promptings of political demagogues, with which we have to deal. Accept as a fact, that all overtures for peaceable settlement, no matter from what source they have proceeded, have failed; that

a declaration of war has been made, *de facto*; that a call for troops has been made, to suppress whatever species of revolution it may have pleased partisans to name it; that a territory, a "separate sovereignty" or not, but a soil, sacred in the eyes and hearts of its children, has been invaded, whether by constitutional authority or otherwise; and we arrive at the point from which this partial history takes its inception. The unlettered masses do not pretend to construe constitutional rights and powers, and the more learned in the present day only construe the *lex scripta* exactly to suit their own purposes.

Perhaps, could we have had the "fathers" who framed that instrument so much revered, or even their more immediate successors, to legislate upon the causes that produced this civil war between their descendants, we might yet have had no more (nor worse) than fierce parliamentary debates; wranglers in wordy conflict, resulting in no shedding of precious blood; but no loyal "leaguers" from the "hub of the universe;" no "covenanters with hell" from the tribunes of the North; no "long-legged liquor law" lumber-men from the State of Maine, ax-ing their way across the Potomac, and *taking* it back; no "fire-eaters" from the hot savannahs of the South; and no "Pickett's men," in arms "upon their native heath," to repel a bloody invasion of their homes and firesides.

But Ycung America, in its progression towards a "manifest destiny," had become much too plethoric for

health. No *sana mens* could exist in such an *insano corpore*. A morbid appetite, insatiate with acquisition of new territory, and pugnacious definement of boundary lines, could no longer be appeased by foreign imbroglio, but must needs turn a gluttonous maw upon its own vitals. The cold calculations of Puritanism could ill agree with the liberal *laissez aller* of Huguenot and Cavalier blood. Natural enemies, like fox and dog, no dexterous showman could reduce them to the condition of a "happy family." The hat, cocked askant, the love-locks, the bully-s swagger, were a traditional and forever offence in the eyes and under the nostrils of Roundhead and Square-toes. The extravagant assumptions of the one, and the dogged determination of the other, could but bring about a violent rupture at last. Idle vaporings of Congressmen, insults and sneers on the one side, empty cartels and loaded canes on the other, were for thirty years the unheeded mutterings of the terrible storm which finally burst upon us in 1861; and made of our forefather's legacy a model (?) and nearly-finished Republic!

The fearful consequence of these dissensions was never really contemplated by either side. If North or South had ever believed that the result would have been an obstinate, bloody, and fratricidal war of four years' duration, even the very final counsels would have been tempered with more discretion, more forbearance. Statesmen were yet to be found—even in the impoverished condition of the country in that article—who would have been willing to offer any honorable terms of compromise.

take issue with the United States government, or any other government; will maintain it, if forced to do so, with our arms and sacred honor; and God defend the right!

This was the position of Virginia; not perhaps in such phraseology, but in equivalent terms; and what was then the feeling throughout the great North? Was its opinion undivided upon this great question? That whole country, powerful as it has proved itself, hung with anxiety upon the deliberations of the convention of Virginia, applauded its very sturdy deliberation, and have never, in their hearts, to this day failed to respect it. So long as Virginia withheld active union with a Southern Confederacy of States, the cry was: "Good, Virginia! Noble old commonwealth!" But after: "*Ils ont changé tout cela.*"

As late as May or June, 1861, the United States government arrested and sought to prosecute in the city of New York not individuals only, but bodies of Northern men who were supposed to be sympathizing with the Southern cause to the extent of offering armed support.

A great military chieftain is known to have counselled the expediency of permitting the Southern States to withdraw without forcible opposition; and a no less distinguished political leader then said: "Let our erring sisters go in peace." Still, the original agitators on either side kept harping on their grievances and encouraging the fray.

As might have been expected, when the combat was

well engaged—"when Greek was joined to Greek"—where were these Bombastes Furiosos? certainly not "within the tug of war." Possibly, late in 1865, the capacious bomb-proofs—well remembered mausoleums of the war—may have given up those who "were not dead, but only sleeping," to a renewed obligation of duty to their common country—in retarding a condition of peace and honorable reconstruction. This is a general rule applying to both sides, to which, however, there are honorable exceptions.

To pass as speedily as possible, from these general reflections, which are germane only to the introduction of *this work*, we arrive at the period of the call to arms in Virginia; the point of time at which commences for our purpose the history of "Pickett's Men."

The Proclamation of the Governor of their State was the clarion which aroused them to the grand action of life, as the fatal bullet of the foe was the messenger which released them from its hardships and trials of fortitude, or the final surrender of their hopes at Appomattox reduced them to the submission of the vanquished heroes that they are.

No voice but the *call of honor* was required to bring them to the field; and no tribute do they ask but the commendation of their country.

Is it just that these men should be robbed of their true meed of glory, either through ignorance or design? That after having been always respected by their enemies in time of war, they should be subjected to the weak

“damnation of faint praise” from their *ci-devant* friends in time of peace? Whenever there shall be a real history of the war written, there is no fear but that they will shine upon its pages in their true light, with no boastful superiority, but as hand in hand with the foremost who pledged their “hearts and hands and sacred honor” in the cause of freedom; who fought upon their frontier, and willingly sacrificed all in defence of their own hearthstones.

CHAPTER II.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION.

THE early organization of troops in Virginia, as in the other Southern States, was necessarily imperfect. They had never "prepared for war in time of peace"—certainly not for a civil war, an internecine war. The people were utterly unskilled in the military use of fire-arms. Though accustomed to the use of fowling-pieces from childhood, but few of them had ever seen a musket handled, and not one in ten thousand had ever fired one.

Well enough skilled from childhood, in the rough equitation of the hunting-field, and the *beau manège* of the country squire; performing feats, daily and nonchalantly, which would drive many a bold dragoon out of his saddle, these Virginia youths knew as little of the teachings of a military riding-school, or how a "serried squadron" should be "set in the field," as a marine would know or understand the "stan' by to lower to'gallan'sells," or any other infernal gibberish of a Yankee skipper's mate. The "Militia System" of the South amounted to about the calling of a long roll; the impositions of sundry fines or taxes; the counting of noses for the next election; the smashing of many of the aforesaid noses in a final friendly, democratic "shindy" on "tangle-foot" corn-

juice. These annual "musters" of the defenders of the country, were held under—umbrellas, principally, by a part of the troops—or adjourned to the shade of the nearest "vine and fig-tree" which could be got at in the vicinity of their *champ de mars*, but never under "arms." There was supposed to be a lot of flint-lock muskets, descended from 1776 or 1812 undergoing decennial repairs in the state armory at Richmond, or fighting the battle of time against worms and rust in the arsenal at Lexington, but these arms had never seen the light of day since, except perhaps a few of them in the Nat. Turner insurrection of 1831.

Unlike the Northern and Eastern States, our militia had never been drilled in, under, by or through (to use all the prepositions) arms. True, a few scanty volunteer organizations, delighting in fancy uniforms, of infantry, artillery, and cavalry, had been partially instructed in the use of arms, and these formed the nucleus of our forces for the more serious and unexpected work of self-defence against home enemies. Fortunately, some few military schools in the States, and the Southern officers resigned from the United States Army at the commencement of the war, furnished instruction for this raw material, which was to compete with the trained troops of a regular army, a civilian horde of five times their number, and mercenaries recruited from all quarters of the globe, supplied too with all the modern improvements in arms and munitions of war.

But there was no question of relative strength or con-

dition with these untaught men, who were at once ready to risk all in defence of a principle, a right, purchased with the blood of, and bequeathed to them by, their forefathers. Once involved in this *ultima ratio*, no cost was calculated, no consideration of disparity was weighed. Outraged and insulted, the "bone and sinew of the country" arose as in the body of one strong man. The persistent Union-worshipper in those days hung his head and held his tongue, or else migrated from a land wherein he could find no sympathy. The very curs who now lick the hand that punished them, and fawn for office upon their masters, then yelped the loudest full-mouthed secession.

The honest quiet Union man met with no violence, but was suffered to worship his idols in peace.

He who was forced from his first love by oppression, became the sturdiest most steadfast soldier of liberty no matter what the individual opinion, the die was cast, and he must sink or swim with his own brethren.

Such then was the true condition of the Southern country when the tocsin of war had already been sounded, and then the work of organization was commenced.

Virginia, from its geographical position, was destined to be the first frontier of the war, and to this State at once flocked undisciplined volunteers from every section of the South. For some time, the troops from the different States held their separate State organizations, but early in the war they were brigaded as nearly as practicable together. Corps and division distinctions were

not perfected until a later period. In the spring of 1862 an entire reorganization of the armies of the South was made, and from this time commenced the style and history of the "Army of Northern Virginia," commanded directly by Gen. Robert E. Lee until the close of the war.

To the operations of this army alone, in following the fortunes and misfortunes of "Pickett's Men," we shall be mainly confined. Pickett's Division was not organized as a command until the month of September, 1862, although its component brigades had been actively engaged in the service from the commencement of the struggle. Before proceeding to its distinct history, it may be proper to give a brief sketch of the antecedent history of each of its brigades.

We shall speak of them as they were designated at the period of the battle of Gettysburg, and probably best known, by name.

CHAPTER III.

BRIG.-GEN. RICHARD BROOKE GARNETT.

THE subject of this memoir was born on his father's estate in the county of Essex, Virginia, in the year 1819. He was the son of Col. William Garnett, and Anna Mercer Brooke, both descended from old Virginia families. His twin brother, William Henry Garnett, nobly sacrificed his life in nursing and attending to the sick with yellow fever, when that fearful plague nearly depopulated the city of Norfolk, in 1855. Gen. Garnett had three sisters; one only now living, the widow of — Darby, Esq., of the State of South Carolina; another, the wife of Col. Thomas H. Williamson, Professor at the Virginia Military Institute, and at one period of the late war chief engineer to Stonewall Jackson; and a third, the wife of Captain John Mercer Brooke, now a Professor of the Virginia Military Institute, the distinguished inventor of the "deep sea sounding apparatus," and originator of the Virginia iron-clad. Gen. Garnett was unmarried. His early education was received in Essex County, and in the city of Norfolk, where his father resided for many years. He entered the Military Academy at West Point as a cadet, and graduated at that school in the class of 1841. He was appointed Second Lieut. in the 6th Infantry, July 1, 1841, and

served in the Florida war in 1841-2; in garrison at Jefferson barracks, and on frontier service in 1842; at Fort Towson, I. T., and Fort Smith, Arkansas, from 1842 to 1845; served as A. D. C. to Brvt. Brig.-Gen. George Mercer Brooke from 1845 to 1851, at New Orleans, and San Antonio, Texas; promoted First Lieut. 6th Infantry, February 16, 1847; on frontier service at Fort Laramie, Dakota, 1852-4; promoted Captain 6th Infantry, May 9, 1855, and on recruiting service, 1854-5; on frontier duty at Fort Pierre, Dakota, in 1856; and engaged in quelling Kansas disturbances in 1856-7, and commanding military escort for commissioners settling Southern boundary, 1857; Fort Leavenworth, 1857-8; Utah expedition, and march to Benicia and Fort Yuma, California, 1858-9; Fort Mojave, N. M., 1859-60, engaged in the serious Indian disturbances of that period; at Benicia, California, 1860-61, and received leave of absence in 1861. Although a strong friend and supporter of the Federal Union at this time, indeed having gone so far as to make the only public address he ever made in his life in favor of its maintenance, Gen. Garnett felt it an imperative duty to sacrifice everything in honorable support of his native State in her time of trial, and resigned his commission in the United States Army on the 17th of May, 1861. He came immediately to Virginia and applied for service in the Confederate Army. He was soon appointed Brig.-General, and first served in the valley of Virginia with the army of Gen. T. J. Jackson. He commanded for some time the celebrated "Stonewall

Brigade" which gave to Gen. Jackson his well-known sobriquet. At the battle of Kernstown, Gen. Garnett unfortunately fell into some misunderstanding with Gen. Jackson as to the movement of his command in that untoward affair, which led to his arrest and temporary relief from duty. This was at most, perhaps, but a matter of temper, which might have been readily passed over and forgotten; yet to the brave, proud, and sensitive spirit of Garnett, it was a cruel blow, from the effects of which *his* heart was never relieved until its last throb at Gettysburg.

I state this from intimate personal knowledge of and association with Gen. Garnett up to the time of his death, and there are many others of his personal friends who could attest the fact. His peculiar sensitiveness suffered under this supposed imputation at Kernstown, and he was ever thereafter anxious to expose himself, even unnecessarily, and to wipe out effectually by some great distinction in action, what he felt to be an unmerited slur upon his military reputation. None of his many friends, nor those who knew him, ever regarded it in this light, and all lamented his entertaining the morbid feeling. I have it from a distinguished staff officer and intimate companion of Gen. Jackson, who shared his tent and bivouac blanket, that Gen. Jackson had told him "*that in his arrest of Gen. Garnett, he had no reference whatever to any thought of Garnett's want of boldness, daring, or the highest spirit of that sort,*" and certainly no person who knew him could have entertained a doubt

on the subject. He was brave to a fault, but cool and collected in action. Still this ever-pressure upon his mind drove him into the jaws of death upon the bloody field of Gettysburg. I have already stated, in the body of this work, that upon the day of battle he was unable to walk, and scarcely able to sit his horse, in fact physically unfit to go into the fight. He had been for many previous days obliged to travel in our head-quarter ambulance, but no advice of friends could dissuade him from leading his men into the very thickest of the fight. Cheering them on by his presence and fearless example, he rode straight down into the "valley of the shadows," a Bayard in spirit, "*sans peur et sans reproche*."

Gen. Garnett commanded temporarily Pickett's Brigade in a portion of the first Maryland campaign, during the absence of Gen. Pickett while wounded. Soon after the promotion of Gen. Pickett, he was assigned to the permanent command of this brigade, which he held from that time until his death. He was always present with his brigade, and commanded it with distinguished ability and universal popularity among its officers and men. Courteous, kind and warm-hearted, he had no enemies, and cherished no resentment. With his rare magnanimity, ignoring all supposed wrong, he was one of the principal officers officiating at the funeral obsequies of the lamented Jackson. Noble heart! Peer of the great dead, no "pomp or circumstance" of war's mourning has graced his "putting off this mortal coil." He sleeps

the sleep of the good and brave, in the gore and glory of some unknown spot at Gettysburg, while his memory shall ever live green in the hearts of his friends, and his spirit rests forever in the bosom of his God.

CHAPTER IV.

GARNETT'S BRIGADE.

THIS brigade was organized early in 1861, and composed of the 8th Virginia Regiment (not attached until after the first battle of Manassas) recruited in the county of Loudon, and commanded, first by Col. Eppa Hunton, and subsequently by Col Norbourne Berkeley; the 18th Virginia, recruited in Pittsylvania County, commanded, first by Col. Robert E. Withers, and subsequently by Col. Henry Carrington; the 19th Virginia, recruited in Albemarle County, commanded, first by Col. Rust, subsequently by Col. J. B. Strange (killed at the battle of Sharpsburg) and by Col. Henry Gantt; and the 28th Virginia, recruited in Roanoke County, commanded, first by Col. Robert T. Preston, and subsequently by Cols. Robert Allen (killed in the battle of Gettysburg) and William Watts. These four regiments participated with great credit in the first battle of Manassas, July 21, 1861.

The brigade was first commanded by Brig.-Gen. Philip St. George Cocke, of Virginia.

In February, 1862, Brig.-Gen. George E. Pickett, formerly of the United States Army, a native of Virginia, was assigned to its command, and the brigade then moved, with Gen. Joseph E. Johnston's army, to the occupation of the Peninsula in front of Yorktown. About the lines

of defence there, it maintained several severe skirmishes with the enemy, and upon the withdrawal of the army from the Peninsula, it was heavily engaged, behaving with great gallantry and distinction in the battle of Williamsburg, on the 5th of May, 1862.

On the first day's fight of the battle of Seven Pines, May 31st, it was held in reserve, covering the York River Railroad, and on the second day, June 1st, it was moved to the front, where it was hotly engaged by the enemy, but succeeded in holding him in check during the whole of that day; and on June 2d, covered the rear of the army on the Williamsburg road, when it retired towards Richmond on that day.

These two fights of Williamsburg and Seven Pines, although not so considerable in extent as many others subsequent, were, as a decided success, highly important to the Confederate cause at this time. They gave to the newly organized and increased army of the Potomac, under the command of Gen. McClellan, then its most esteemed chieftain, a salutary lesson, and prevented its immediate approach upon Richmond. At that time there were few and but imperfect fortifications around the city. The enemy's gun-boats had already pushed up the James River, attacked and been repulsed at Drewry's Bluff. There was an unwholesome fear pervading the Confederate authorities within the city; and it is pretty well understood that the propriety of abandoning the city was freely discussed and urged in the Congress then sitting. The event of this battle of Seven Pines determined

that question for the moment, as the subsequent thirty days finally settled it for three years to come.

Almost immediately after the battle of Seven Pines, in which Gen. Joseph E. Johnston was severely wounded, Gen. Robert E. Lee for the first time assumed the personal command of the army, and soon planned the attack upon McClellan, who was threatening Richmond from the north side of the Chickahominy. Making a demonstration with Jackson's forces down the valley of the Shenandoah towards Washington, to attract the attention of the enemy in that quarter, he at the same time directed Gen. Jackson to co-operate with him speedily and forcibly in an attack upon McClellan's right flank. On the morning of June 26th, Pickett's brigade was moved from its cantonments on the Williamsburg road. Its destination, or the character of the expedition, was of course unknown to them.

It must be mentioned that the brigade had been increased, after the fight at Seven Pines, by the addition of the 56th Virginia regiment, Col. Wm. D. Stuart's, commanded temporarily by Lieut.-Col. Peyton Slaughter. This regiment was small, having been in the army of the West and suffered severely at Fort Donelson. At daylight of the 26th of June, the brigade was on the Mechanicsville turnpike leading north out of Richmond; and the presence of other troops indicated a general movement. That afternoon, A. P. Hill's Light Division of Lee's army inaugurated the work, crossing the Chickahominy by the Meadow Bridges road and Mechanicsville

turnpike and capturing, by nightfall, McClellan's right position at the small hamlet of Mechanicsville. Pickett's brigade crossed the Chickahominy that evening, and bivouacked on their arms in the road in front of Mechanicsville. By three o'clock next morning the attack was recommenced, and the enemy driven before Lee, without serious opposition, to Ellyson's Mill, a strongly fortified point, which was carried with considerable loss, and the enemy continued a precipitate retreat during the forenoon, doing all the damage he could, and carrying in falling back almost everything of value with him. His hospital camps were deserted, and his commissary stores mostly burnt or destroyed. In the afternoon, McClellan made a determined stand at his great *point d'appui* on Watt's Farm, or as it is more generally known, Gainé's Mill.

CHAPTER V.

THE BATTLE OF GAINES'S MILL.

THIS place so nearly adjoins Cold Harbor that the distinct action fought here at this time (June 27, 1862), the turning-point of the Seven Days' Fight around Richmond, is sometimes designated by either name. The natural strength of the position had been at once seized upon by the experienced eye of McClellan and improved to the fullest extent by his engineers.

A tall cliff, or natural boulder of ground, pretty well covered with large trees, and almost inaccessible in front, is separated by a deep ravine from a flat field of about seven or eight acres *terre-plein*, making four or five hundred yards direct line of approach. The cliff was defended by three tiers of field artillery and a heavy infantry support. The field in front, covered with a crop of oats in part, and a natural growth of brown sedge, offered concealment to the enemy's skirmish line and sharpshooters. Over this field it was necessary to advance in attack. McClellan had been backing all the morning, but at this point he made his determined stand at bay.

Pickett's Brigade, which had been heretofore simply following the chase, was now ordered to the front, and formed in line of battle on the edge of this field, under cover of the brow of a hill. Two or three brigades had

already been advanced on the Cold Harbor road, and had come out with burnt fingers. In moving up to our position we met many of their stragglers singing rather a doleful song.

Immediately in our front not a sign or sound of the enemy was yet apparent. Gen. Pickett detached two of our regiments, the 8th and the 18th, from the right, and moved with them in person to dislodge a small force of the enemy from a piece of woods on our right.

Serving at this time as his volunteer aide-de-camp, I was following him, when he directed me to remain with the other regiments, saying that he would send me orders for their movement. As these two regiments, with him, moved out of cover, a few puffs of smoke and sharp rifle cracks from the oat-field in front, proved that the enemy were not only concealed there, but wide awake to our movements; we had thrown out a line of skirmishers, from the 19th regiment, to feel them. Nothing as yet had been heard from Gen. Jackson's column, although we knew he was somewhere on our left; the general order being that we were to attack in front, upon hearing his musketry open upon the enemy. We had not long to wait. Gen. Longstreet's Adjutant-Gen., Major Sorrel, soon brought the order to advance. In the absence of Gen. Pickett from this part of the field and being temporarily charged by him to await his orders, I rode up to Gen. Longstreet, and received the order from him in person, to charge with the three regiments, directly across the field and upon the enemy's works. The 19th regi-

ment was now on the right, being the centre of the brigade, the 28th next, and the 56th on the left. In this order we charged, at a double-quick, over this terrible piece of ground, Gen. Pickett with the other two regiments moving down at the same time; from the extreme right the five regiments were again united in the centre of the field, and pressed the charge in full line of battle, brigade front; in a few minutes, the skirmish line of the enemy was driven in, or literally run over.

The fire from the enemy's batteries and small arms was now terrific. I have never seen such a storm of projectiles of every description, and at short range, concentrated upon so narrow a field of battle.

The effect upon our ranks was terrific, but the brave old brigade pushed on. The men fell around us like leaves in autumn. The officers were being fast thinned out. Col. Withers, leading his regiment, was soon shot down, and supposed mortally wounded. Lieut.-Col. Slaughter, commanding the 56th, was wounded as badly. Neither of these gallant officers was ever again fit for service in the field. Many others doing as valiant *devoir* on this bloody ground were, according to the inscrutable Providence of battles, preserved entirely, or else slightly wounded. It is difficult to comprehend how any could have come out of such a fire unhurt.

It was almost impossible to see or hear anything distinctly, such was the continual rush of the shot and shell. Gen. Pickett was within ten paces of me when he was shot from his horse. I did not perceive his fall until he said

to me in very expressive terms that—*somebody*—had hit him. I immediately dismounted, examined his wound, and found the *hole* of a minié ball in his shoulder. This scarcely occupied a moment, when we pressed on with the brigade, leading our horses. Just before reaching the deep ravine I have mentioned, the men came to a momentary check, caused by the excessive fire upon their shattered ranks; but *only* for a moment. A supporting brigade (R. H. Anderson's South Carolina) came up at this decisive moment, and the two brigades rushed together into the ravine, and charged up the cliff lined with its batteries and infantry. Never on any battle-field was witnessed a more gallant action. Officers of high grade, the then Secretary of War, Gen. Randolph, and many others who looked upon the scene from the surrounding heights, say that they never saw so glorious a sight.

Meanwhile, Stonewall Jackson's guns had been thundering on the right of the enemy, on the Cold Harbor road; and he was pressing hard down on the flank of this position. Taken thus so fiercely in front and flank, the brave little McClellan was forced from his cherished stronghold and driven into the flats of Chickahominy Swamp.

This important action rather settled the question of his holding position upon this line.

With his military engineering foresight, however, he had already *corduroyed* and trestle-bridged the otherwise impassable bogs and delectable low grounds of that swampy stream, and thus was enabled to slip out of this dilemma under cover of the darkness.

There has been much discussion as to what he *ought* to have done and what he *might* have done at this point ; but as I am neither writing from the accounts of "historians," nor with any purpose whatsoever of applauding or condemning any one, but simply what I saw or know, what he did after dark, or rather *why* he did it, I do not pretend to relate. I do know this much, however, that after this very handsome whipping at Gaine's Mill, he was off before morning, and Gen. Lee, with his whole force, including the remnant of Pickett's Brigade, was in hot pursuit of him.

He might have been only "changing his base" from the Chickahominy to James river, for aught I know.

This fight at Gaine's Mill, at least, was altogether decisive of the change of base from the Chickahominy ; and although of short duration, was, for the importance of its success and the heavy fighting done there, the best up to that period of the war. The loss was heavy on both sides, and nothing but the extreme valor of the Confederate troops engaged, could have won it.

Gen. Pickett's severe wound rendering it necessary that he should leave the field for some time, the command of the brigade devolved upon Col. Eppa Hunton.

Col. Hunton, although suffering from ill health, continued in command of the brigade in the battle of Frazer's Farm, June 30th, where it was again engaged with great distinction and considerable loss ; at the battle of Malvern Hills, where with the rest of Longstreet's Division it was held in reserve ; at the second battle of Man-

assas, and at Sharpsburg. This series of fights reduced the old brigade to a mere handful of men and officers.

In the fight at Frazer's Farm, Major Charles Pickett, Asst. Adjt. Gen. of the brigade, was seriously wounded, and Lieut. W. Stuart Symington, A. D. C. to Gen. Pickett, had his horse killed under him.

These officers received favorable notice for their gallantry, in the official reports of these several actions. At the battle of Sharpsburg, sometimes called "Antietam," Col. J. B. Strange, commanding the 19th Virginia, a gallant and esteemed officer, was killed.

Soon after the battle of Sharpsburg, Gen. Pickett re-assumed the command of his brigade; but upon his promotion to the grade of Major-General, and a division formed for him, the command of the brigade was assigned to Brig.-Gen. Richard B. Garnett. From this point the history of the brigade becomes merged in the general record of Pickett's Division.

This was the only brigade from which any official report was received of the battle of Gettysburg.

Such was the terrible casualty among the officers, that Major Charles S. Peyton, of the 19th Virginia, became the commander of the brigade and made this report.

Major Peyton, although deprived of an arm by a wound received on a former field of battle, went into this fight, and was again slightly wounded, but not sufficiently to prevent him a few days after from taking command, as ranking officer left from the brigade.

CHAPTER VI.

BRIG.-GEN. LEWIS A. ARMISTEAD.

LEWIS ADDISON ARMISTEAD, the gallant and lamented officer (of whom this is a brief biographical memoir, attached to the record of the brigade he first organized, and commanded up to the moment of his death), was born in Newbern, N. C., on February 18, 1817.

He was the son of Gen. Walker K. Armistead, of the United States Army, a native of Virginia, and Elizabeth, daughter of Hon. John A. Stanley of N. C.

He was entered as a cadet at the United States Military Academy at West Point, but on account of some youthful escapade (I have been told, the partial cracking of Jubal A. Early's head with a mess-hall plate), he was retired from that Institution before graduation. He was appointed Second Lieut. in the United States Army, from citizen's life in June, 1839, and assigned to the 6th Regiment of Infantry (commanded at that time by Gen. Zachary Taylor, who afterwards became the distinguished Mexican hero, and President of the United States). He served during the latter part of the Florida war, under his father, Gen. W. K. Armistead, and was promoted First Lieut. by President Tyler, to rank as such from March 30, 1844. He joined Gen. Scott, in Mexico, at the siege of Vera Cruz, was breveted Captain for gal-

lant and meritorious conduct at the battles of Contreras and Churubusco; afterwards was breveted Major for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Molino del Rey. These brevets were conferred by President Polk. March 3, 1855, he was commissioned Captain in the 6th Infantry by President Pierce. Early in 1861, he resigned his commission in the United States Army, and in company with Gen. Albert Sidney Johnson and other officers of that army, who had also resigned, crossed the plains, and offered his services to the State of Virginia. He was soon commissioned Colonel and given command of the 57th Regiment of Virginia Infantry. In April, 1862, he was commissioned by President Jeff. Davis Brig.-Gen. in the provisional army of the Confederate States; and set to the organization of a brigade of infantry. This brigade was composed of the 57th, 53d, and 14th Virginia Regiments and 3d Georgia Regiment; subsequently the 3d Georgia was exchanged for the 38th Virginia, and the 9th Virginia added to the brigade. This brigade, known as Armistead's, was assigned to Huger's Division of Longstreet's 1st Army Corps. Gen. Armistead was first engaged with his brigade (or a portion of it rather) at the second day's fight of Seven Pines, June 1, 1862, where he personally distinguished himself for extreme gallantry.

He next commanded his brigade at the battle of Malvern Hill, where it was heavily engaged, and where he again displayed his usual gallantry, and did signal service. He commanded his brigade throughout the first

Maryland campaign, and in September, 1862, on the return of the army to Culpepper Court-House, Va., he was assigned with his brigade to Pickett's Division of Longstreet's Corps, and remained with that command up to the time of his death, taking part in all its actions. As a firm disciplinarian and executive officer, in addition to his high qualities for personal courage and judgment, he had no superior in the service. He conspicuously led his brigade in the celebrated charge of Pickett's Men at Gettysburg; advancing in front of his line, waving his hat upon the point of his sabre, and cheering his men on, when he was shot down after having taken the first line and guns of the enemy. He was found mortally wounded among the foremost ranks of the dead and dying, taken charge of by Maj.-Gen. Hancock, his old companion in arms of the United States Army, and sent to the 11th Corps hospital at Gettysburg, where he died of his wounds on the following day. Fallen, a noble soldier in his harness, he lies near the field of his honor and glory; buried with the speedy shrift of the times of war, but his memory ever preserved with those who knew him well—as the brave soul, the kind heart, the cheerful temper he always was.

Gen. Armistead was a widower; and was killed, leaving only one child—a son—who, although quite a youth at the time, was his father's aide-de-camp—W. Keith Armistead.

CHAPTER VII.

ARMISTEAD'S BRIGADE.

THIS brigade, commanded by Brig.-Gen. Lewis A. Armistead, formerly an officer in the United States Army, was organized at Suffolk, Va., in the spring of 1862. It was first composed of the 14th Virginia, commanded by Col. Hodges* and subsequently by Col. White; the 53d Virginia, commanded by Col. Harrison B. Tomlin, and subsequently by Cols. Grammer and William R. Aylett; the 3d Georgia Regiment; and the 57th Virginia, first commanded by Gen. Armistead himself, subsequently by Cols. E. F. Keene and J. B. Magruder.*

After the evacuation of Norfolk, the 9th Virginia Regiment, formed of several detached companies, was added to the brigade. This regiment was commanded at different times by Cols. Goodwin and Owens, Lieut.-Col. Giliham, Major Richardson, and finally by Col. Philips. The brigade was first engaged at Seven Pines, June 1, 1862. After the battle of Seven Pines, the 3d Georgia was exchanged for the 38th Virginia Regiment, commanded by Col. Edmonds,* and subsequently by Col. Joseph C. Cabell† and Col. Griggs.

The brigade was first attached to Huger's Division,

* Killed at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863.

† Killed at Drewry's Farm, May 16, 1864.

and was engaged at Malvern Hills with distinction. It moved with Gen. Lee's army on the first Maryland campaign; was in reserve at the second battle of Manassas, and at the taking of Harper's Ferry from Maryland Heights in 1862, and engaged in the battle of Sharpsburg. In September, 1862, at Culpepper Court-House, it was assigned to Pickett's Division, and from that time remained attached to it until the close of the war. At various times this brigade, as well as the others, acted separately or was temporarily detached on some special duty. These instances will be noticed hereafter.

CHAPTER VIII.

MAJOR-GEN. JAMES LAWSON KEMPER

WAS born in Madison County, Va., in 1824, and descended from British and Continental ancestors, who settled in Virginia in 1700.

He took the degree of Master of Arts at Washington College, Va., and studied law in the office of George W. Summers, Esq., in Charleston, Kanawha Co., Va. In 1847, he was commissioned Captain in the Volunteer Army by President James K. Polk, and joined Gen. Taylor's Army of Occupation in Mexico, just after the battle of Buena Vista, thus seeing no active service in the Mexican war.

Gen. Kemper was for ten years a member of the Virginia Legislature, for two years Speaker of the House of Delegates, and for a number of years chairman of the committee on military affairs. He was also President of the Board of Visitors of the Virginia Military Institute.

On the 2d of May, 1861, he was commissioned by the Convention of Virginia, on the nomination of Gov. Letcher, Colonel of Virginia Volunteers, and assigned to the command of the 7th Regiment of Infantry, which command he assumed at Manassas, the regiment being 850 strong.

He was first engaged with his regiment in the battle

of Bull Run, July 18, 1861, and thereafter at the first battle of Manassas, July 21, 1861, where his regiment was temporarily incorporated in a brigade commanded by Col. Jubal A. Early, and aided in striking the final blow on the extreme left of the Federal line, which immediately preceded the retreat and final rout of that army.

Three days after the battle of Manassas his regiment was assigned to a brigade commanded by Gen. Longstreet. This brigade was subsequently given to the command of Gen. A. P. Hill, and under him Col. Kemper, with his 7th Regiment, was in the hottest of the fight at the battle of Williamsburg, May 5, 1862, and engaged with the enemy for nine successive hours, capturing several pieces of artillery and four hundred prisoners.

Immediately after this battle, he was promoted to the command of the old brigade, which had been successively commanded by Longstreet, Ewell, and A. P. Hill; and commanding it, participated in the first day's fight at Seven Pines, May 31, 1862, and the seven day's fighting around Richmond in the same year. In the second battle of Manassas, Brig.-Gen. Kemper commanded temporarily a division composed of several of the brigades afterwards composing Pickett's Division. Here, with these same "Pickett's Men," of after-celebrity, he was opposed to the extreme left of the enemy; but acting upon his own judgment at the moment, changed front so as to strike the enemy's right flank, and soon after it was done, received a message from Gen. Lee to make precisely

the same movement he had already effected with such success, inflicting tremendous loss upon the enemy. He commanded his own brigade in the battles of South Mountain and Sharpsburg. Soon after the return of Kemper's Brigade from the first Maryland campaign it was incorporated in Pickett's Division.

At the battle of Fredericksburg, December, 1862, Gen. Kemper with his brigade was temporarily detached from the division and joined the troops on Marye's Heights on the afternoon of that day, under a hot fire. He was again detached from the division early in 1863, and sent with his brigade to North Carolina, where he commanded the forces at Kingston, opposed to the Federal force under Gen. Foster, who then held Newbern. He rejoined Pickett's Division in front of Suffolk, Va., participated in the operations at that place, and marched with the division into Pennsylvania, his troops taking their full share in the terrible massacre at Gettysburg. Gen. Kemper was desperately (supposed to be mortally) wounded, while gallantly leading his brigade into that infernal slaughter-pen. He was brought off that bloody field, but without hopes of his recovery, and afterwards taken prisoner. He was held a prisoner in the hospitals for three months, but upon the written certificates of several of the United States surgeons, that *he must soon die*, he was finally exchanged for Brig.-Gen. Graham, United States Army, slightly wounded and captured at Gettysburg.

On the same field, two of Gen. Kemper's staff-officers,

Captain Thomas Gordon Pollock, A. A. and Inspector-Gen., and Lieut. George E. Geiger, A. D. C., both gallant and valuable officers, were killed.

After his exchange and return to Virginia, Gen. Kemper was for a long time too much disabled to perform any duty in the field. He attempted to return to the command of his brigade, but was totally unable to do so. He is permanently disabled, and still a sufferer from partial paralysis of his lower limbs, carrying *now* an unextracted ounce ball about the base of the spine.

Although unable to perform field duty, he was assigned to the important service of commanding the local forces in and around Richmond, the reserve forces of Virginia and the Bureau of Conscription; and while in discharge of this duty, put *nineteen thousand* men into the Confederate service, from Virginia. In June, 1864, he was commissioned Major-General. Gen. Kemper was an excellent officer in the field, with all the courage and pure chivalry of a volunteer patriot, fighting for his country's honor and independence, he combined the solid qualities and sound judgment of a practical statesman. In battle or in council, he was an officer of superior capacity; and his distinguished career, along with that of many of his associates in arms, is a demonstration of what excellence may be attained by the highest type of a citizen soldier. Upon being obliged to retire from the field, Gen. Kemper published to his brigade a farewell letter, which I think most fit to insert in this brief sketch of his military life. This leave-taking from his old and much endeared com-

mand was by no means the end of his usefulness in the Confederate cause.

RICHMOND, MAY 2, 1864.

TO THE OFFICERS AND MEN OF KEMPER'S BRIGADE :

For months it has been my expectation and fixed purpose to resume my old command, at the opening of this campaign. But at the last moment my plans have been thwarted by an over-ruling necessity. I am now warned by eminent medical advisers, that my condition is such as positively incapacitates me for the duties of a field commander, and for doing justice to yourselves in that relation; that further service in the saddle must result in the ruin of my constitution, if not the destruction of my life, without enuring to the benefit of the country.

Under these circumstances I have been assigned to the command of the reserve forces of the State of Virginia. I have not sought the position; but struck down by the casualties of war and unable longer to lead your veteran battalions, I believe it an imperative duty to yield obedience to the order.

It is the most painful duty of my life to sever the relations which for three years have harmoniously united us; which have carried us together through memorable and fiery trials, and have bound you to my heart with ties stronger than "hooks of steel." No portion of our armies will present to the world more splendid annals of valor than the FIRST, THIRD, SEVENTH, ELEVENTH and TWENTY-FOURTH Regiments of Virginia Infantry. Let us

ever remember also as honored comrades, though now separated from us, the noble SEVENTEENTH Virginia, identified with us by two years of common toils and achievements. It were enough of honor to have shared the fortunes of any of these regiments. Any soldier might well be proud to possess the command of them all. Stouter heroes have not trod the field of battle. In your torn flags, your scarred persons, your rolls of gallant dead, you bear memorials of a long succession of glorious conflicts; from the smoke and fire of not one of them have you emerged without honor.

I will not tell you to preserve unsullied in the future the reputation, above all price, which the past has secured. The veteran brigade which Longstreet, Ewell and A. P. Hill were proud successively to command at the beginning of the war, as dauntless as the Imperial Guard, knows how to die but not to surrender.

Fellow soldiers! I bid each of you an affectionate adieu. I cease to be your commander, but firmly and forever remain your friend. I shall, as heretofore, watch your career with the profoundest solicitude for your welfare. May the God of battles steel your nerves and shelter your forms amid the perils of the field! May peaceful homes, a stable government, an admiring country, be at once the monuments and the rewards of your valor!

JAMES L. KEMPER.

CHAPTER IX.

KEMPER'S BRIGADE

Was partially organized in the spring of 1861. It was first commanded by Lieut.-Gen. (then Brig.-Gen.) Longstreet and engaged in the fight at Bull Run, July 18, 1861. In an open field, without intrenchments, or any cover whatsoever, it withstood the attack of three thousand of the enemy's infantry, and successfully repulsed his attempt to cross Bull Run at Blackburn's Ford. This was the first time these troops had been under fire. In the first battle of Manassas, July 21, 1861, it occupied position on the right, holding the enemy in check, while the more active engagement was being fought on the left. Although not actively engaged on that day, it did signal service, under a severe shelling from the enemy's batteries.

After the battle of Manassas, and until the next spring, it was engaged in performing picket duty on the Potomac, and in several heavy skirmishes at Munson's Hill, in the front. It was commanded at different times by Gens. Clark, Ewell and A. P. Hill. In the spring of 1862 it was moved with the army to the Peninsula.

At the fight at Williamsburg, May 5, 1862, it performed an important part. McClellan's army, in pushing after Johnston's retreat from Yorktown, pressed with

such heavy numbers upon his rear-guard (then approaching Williamsburg in front of Fort Magruder) that Johnston, finding himself thus attacked on right and left by flanking columns of the enemy, as well as in rear by the main body, was forced to make a stand and offer desperate resistance. The troops put back for this purpose (among whom were both A. P. Hill's and Pickett's Brigades) behaved with the utmost valor and determination; repulsing the much superior force of the enemy—Hooker's, Smith's and Kearney's Divisions (commanded in person by Gen. Sumner, that hard-fighting old chieftain)—with terrible loss to the enemy, and much honor and glory to themselves. This sanguinary conflict, although unsought by us, was most important in effect. Our troops had scarcely been engaged seriously for a year. They were then retreating slowly before an enemy, with whom they were anxious to try conclusions at no matter what odds. They were at that time always ready and eager to advance, but obeyed orders to fall back, with discontent. A retreat under these circumstances is always dispiriting to volunteer troops. The success at Williamsburg encouraged *them* greatly, while it taught the enemy a severe lesson as to what a mere fragment of the army they were following, could do against their picked divisions. From this first taste of their "quarry at bay" they recoiled; and after that it was a mere *following* truly; like the celebrated wolf-dog, of wonderful *speed*, who could overtake the wolf whenever he pleased, but did not like his company when overtaken. If Gen. McClel-

lan was in pursuit of Johnston after the passage of arms at Williamsburg, it was either a very slow or unwilling pursuit; for it took him from the 5th to the 21st of May, to see the Confederate Army safely across the Chickahominy, keeping at a respectful escort's distance, and never again coming to striking terms. Certain it is that he never again commenced an attack upon his enemy after feeling his teeth at Williamsburg. And to follow the simile of the famous wolf-dog; when the chase was reversed, and the wolf after him, he succeeded in effecting a "masterly retreat," giving up entirely his "headquarters," and a great portion of his hindquarters before finally "taking water" in the noble James.

It may be as well to repeat here, and once for all, that this is no intended criticism upon Gen. McClellan, or "any other man;" but in telling my story, I must be permitted to state simply the "*faits (un)accomplis*" of the Grand Army of the Potomac, under his command.

CHAPTER X.

BATTLE OF SEVEN PINES.

(MAY 31, AND JUNE 1, 1862.)

WITH the rudimentary lesson of Williamsburg fresh in their minds we know how at Seven Pines, May 31, 1862, Gen. Casey "came to grief." Holding the advanced post of the enemy, on the west side of the Chickahominy, which he had crossed without opposition, his position was protected by a formidable redoubt, with smaller out-works and rifle-pits. His own headquarters were immediately in rear of the redoubt and by the side of such a "wood-pile" as was never seen, out of a seventy times seven pine's country. Barring interruptions, he might have intended to take up his winter-quarters in this favorably wooded locality. But Gen. Johnston, tired of waiting on this slow advance upon Richmond, decided to break up this pleasant "roost," and straightway directed D. H. Hill, commanding a portion of Longstreet's Division, to pitch into it in front, while he superintended in person an attack on the enemy's right, near a point sometimes known as Fair Oaks.

Included in D. H. Hill's attacking force, was Kemper's Brigade. Upon the promotion of A. P. Hill, Brig.-Gen. James L. Kemper, up to that time Col. of the 7th Virginia, had been assigned to the command of this brigade.

Rodes' Alabama Brigade led the attack, charged the enemy's defences in gallant style, and, after a severe struggle, carried by a *coup-de-main* the redoubt of such strength and importance at Gen. Casey's headquarters; supporting Rodes in the attack, Kemper's Brigade drove the enemy, fighting hard, across the Williamsburg or Seven Mile road, the Nine Mile road, which runs into it at this point, and thus fairly into the swamps of the Chickahominy. A few other brigades were also engaged in this brilliant action, in the same manner on the right. Richard H. Anderson's (afterwards Jenkin's) South Carolina Brigade bore a conspicuous part in it. At *this* point then, Seven Pines, there was a complete success. A small command comparatively, comprising only six brigades, had completely "flaxed out" and driven back Casey's, Couch's, and Kearney's Divisions, of Keyes' Corps, supported by Heintzelman's Corps. Gen. Huger, who had been directed to co-operate with this attack, from the extreme right of the Confederate line, had not been heard from, nor did his division appear in the action of that day; some misapprehension of orders, or mistake of roads, is alleged as the explanation of this failure.

Meanwhile, Gen. Johnston (with G. W. Smith's and Whiting's commands on the extreme left), who, from some peculiar condition of the atmosphere, or course of the wind, on that day, had not heard anything of this lively action going on to his right, refrained from attacking the enemy's right on the Nine Mile road, until too late in the afternoon to co-operate fully, as he had in-

tended, with Longstreet's attack upon the left of the enemy, which had proved such a thorough success. Had these attacks, as planned, been simultaneously made, there would in all probability have been no ground left for disputation as to the final result of Seven Pines or Fair Oaks.

And this brings me to a correction I desire to make, in an impression that might well be derived from "Swinton's Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac," (an excellent general authority, usually impartial and correct in all particulars) in its account of this engagement.

In the first place, the *nomenclature* of various battles has been different with the two armies, and thus naturally adopted by the writers on either side. For instance, Bull Run and Manassas, Antietam and Sharpsburg, Fair Oaks and Seven Pines, and so on. Now, the Confederates have never known this fight or fights of May 31, and June 1, 1862, by any other name than Seven Pines. And first, because all of the important fighting was done at and about the intersection of the Seven Mile, or Williamsburg direct, and the Nine Mile roads, a point long known in the common parlance of the country as Seven Pines; while on the northern side of the York River Railroad, and about the place known as Fair Oaks, there was comparatively little fighting; secondly, perhaps, because the affair at Seven Pines proper, was a complete Confederate success, whereas the attack on the left, partly through accident, was by no means a happy coincidence. For a converse reason, perhaps, the Federals have always

spoken of it as the Battle of Fair Oaks. It is in reference to these two points of really the same battle, that I wish to make this explanation. Mr. Swinton, in paying a merited tribute to that heroic and gallant old soldier, Gen. Sumner, would rather leave the inference that his timely assistance afforded on the evening of May 31st, to his then beaten comrades, recovered the greater portion of the ground lost by them at Seven Pines.

Now, no doubt Gen. Sumner did move his supporting forces across the Chickahominy under all of the difficulties mentioned, just in time to prevent an utter demolition of the troops already badly worsted; no doubt this time-worn veteran, whose courage and fighting qualities no one can deny, did effect this part of his purpose, and "put in five regiments with the bayonet, to dislodge a party of Confederates from a piece of woods near Fair Oaks," and perhaps these confederates were "driven back in confusion," but it was too late to save a battle already fought and lost. This timely repulse of the forces under Gen. Johnston's supervision on the left, may well entitle Gen. Sumner to be called the Moreau of the day; but it would be error to suppose that one foot of the ground, already lost on the right, in front of Seven Pines, was recovered on that evening of the 31st. More to the contrary. Pryor's, Wilcox's, R. H. Anderson's and other brigades occupied, that night and the next morning, the ground in front of Seven Pines, taken by them the day before. Kemper's Brigade spent that night within the redoubt at Gen. Casey's former headquarters.

At daylight, June 1st, Pickett's Brigade, which had not been engaged on the day before, but was held in reserve, covering the York River Railroad, and immediately between the two wings of the army, was moved to the right front, and halted at Gen. Casey's headquarters to receive orders from Gen. D. H. Hill, who was then occupying them temporarily, and enjoying the unusual luxuries left in haste by that Federal commander.

Mahone's Brigade came up at the same time in our rear. These brigades were directed by Gen. Hill to advance to the front on the Williamsburg road, there being no account of the enemy within some distance.

Pickett's Brigade moved on the left of the road, and into the angle formed by the Nine Mile road with it.

After crossing the Nine Mile road in the direction of the Chickahominy, we were met by some of our troops, falling back from the skirmish line, who reported that the enemy were advancing in force.

Misled by the previous information that there was no considerable force of the enemy at that point, and then coming upon them unawares in a dense swampy wood and undergrowth, where, after a few volleys of musketry, nothing could be distinctly seen, these advancing brigades were thrown into some confusion and taken at a disadvantage; especially those troops that had never been in action before.

Pickett's well-tried men, however, soon formed in line of battle, and not only gallantly "sustained the brunt of attack," as Mr. Swinton's "note" says, but *advanced*

upon the enemy, and, for a time, succeeded in driving him back.

Supported by Pryor's and Mahone's Brigades on the left, this very spirited little fight was maintained for three or four hours, the enemy gaining no decided advantage on *that* day. The order from Gen. Hill was then received, to fall back towards Seven Pines; but this being a sort of movement his men were entirely unaccustomed to, and deemed by him not only hazardous, but unnecessary, Pickett sent repeated requests to Gen. Hill for reinforcements, and a supply of ammunition, as his was giving out.

His last message was: "Send me ammunition, and another good fighting brigade, and I will drive the enemy across the Chickahominy."

Between twelve and one o'clock he obeyed with reluctance the final order to retire; and not until then were the troops withdrawn. *There was no further attempt* to advance made by the enemy on that day. When withdrawn, Pickett went into bivouac, about two miles in rear of the battle-field; and Mahone occupied the redoubt at Gen. Casey's headquarters, the whole of that night.

I happened to be in attendance upon Gen. Pickett, as one of his staff, when he received, through Gen. Mahone, at this redoubt, and after midnight, Gen. Hill's order to cover with his brigade the retrograde movement of this wing of the army, which was commenced at two o'clock A. M., June 2d. It was full daylight before the rear of

the column passed us, which we closed without any attack, or attempt of the enemy to follow closely.

This little fight of June 1st, which was in fact a successful winding-up of the Seven Pines' battle has been treated by the very fair and usually correct historian of the "Army of the Potomac," as only an "accidental circumstance:" and quoting Gen. Joseph E. Johnston as authority that it was merely a "skirmish," simply "an affair of the rear-guard." I have no doubt, Gen. Johnston was entirely informed as to the *intention*; but misled by his information as to the actual result.

This correction, which, as an eye-witness and humble participant in this "accidental circumstance" of a "rear-guard," having been singularly sent out to *attack* an enemy, I have deemed it but just to make, at this point, although it has caused a perhaps pardonable digression from the sketch of Kemper's Brigade.

As it will be equally necessary hereafter, to make some other corrections of erroneous statements, made no doubt through want of exact information, it may be well to say that it shall be done, in no spirit of unpleasant criticism, but in high appreciation of the general value of Mr. Swinton's book.

Kemper's Brigade was at this time composed of the 1st Virginia Regiment, from the city of Richmond; it having been an old volunteer organization before the war, and one of the first to enter the service in 1861. It was commanded, first by Col. (afterwards Brig.-Gen.) P. T. Moore (wounded at Bull Run, July 18, 1861),

after the first twelve months of the war by Cols. Lewis B. Williams (killed at Gettysburg), Frederick G. Skinner (severely wounded at Second Manassas), and Lieut.-Col. F. H. Langley ; the 7th Virginia Regiment, recruited in the counties of Culpepper, Rappahannock and Madison, commanded first by Gen. James L. Kemper, then by Col. W. Tazewell Patton (killed at Gettysburg), and subsequently by Col. C. C. Floweree ; the 11th Virginia, recruited in Lynchburg, and surrounding counties, commanded first by Brig.-Gen. Sam. Garland (killed at Sharpsburg), subsequently by Cols. Funsten and Otey ; and the 17th Virginia, enrolled in and about Alexandria, Va., commanded by Brig.-Gen. Montgomery D. Corse, Cols. Morton Marye (severely wounded, and incapacitated, by loss of a leg, from field service after the first year of the war), and Arthur Herbert ; the 3d Virginia Regiment, first commanded by Brig.-Gen. Roger A. Pryor, and subsequently by Col. Joseph Mayo, Jr., was added to this brigade after the Maryland campaign of 1862 ; and the 24th Virginia, first commanded by Lieut.-Gen. Jubal A. Early, subsequently by Brig.-Gen. Wm. R. Terry, and Col. Richard L. Maury, was added to the brigade some time after the battle of Seven Pines.

These five Virginia regiments remained with Pickett's Division to the end of the war ; the 17th was transferred to Corse's Brigade. The brigade participated in the Seven Days' Fight around Richmond, 1862 : was in reserve, supporting R. H. Anderson's Brigade, at Gainey's Mill, but was not required in the action. This by the

way, is a further confirmation of the fact heretofore stated, that the attack in front at Gaine's Mill was made by Pickett's and R. H. Anderson's Brigades alone, or else Kemper's Brigade supporting, must have been brought into action. "Hood's gallant Texans," of whom so much praise was justly said, in this action did not pass over the front of this bloody field, but did distinguish themselves in their attack upon the right flank of McClellan's position.

At Frazer's Farm, Kemper's Brigade was again engaged with distinction, where it captured a battery of the enemy ; again, at the battle of Second Manassas, it did the same, and at Boonsborough and Sharpsburg, in the first Maryland campaign, where it maintained itself as ever. In September, 1862, it was incorporated in Pickett's Division, with which it remained, doing occasional detached service, until the end of the war.

CHAPTER XI.

BRIG.-GEN. MONTGOMERY D. CORSE.

GEN. CORSE was born in the city of Alexandria, D. C., on March 14, 1816. He was educated at the military school of Messrs. Bradley Lowe and Benjamin Hallowell, and then entered into the exchange and broker's office of his father in Alexandria. In 1846, he was elected Captain of a volunteer company, and went to the war with Mexico, in command of C. B., 1st Regiment of Virginia Volunteers, commanded by Col. Hamtramk. He served thus until the end of the Mexican war, and returned to Alexandria in 1848. In February, 1849, he went with an early emigration to California—sailing from New York in the steamer *Falcon*—via Isthmus of Panama; arriving in San Francisco by the first trip of the steamer *Oregon*, on April 1, 1849. He was occupied in California in various callings; as a miner, merchant, steamboat-agent, custom-house officer, deputy-marshal of Sacramento city; and, for a time, joint proprietor of the Orleans Hotel, Sacramento city. He was also Captain of the "Sutter Rifles" of that city, organized in 1852.

In December, 1856, he returned to Alexandria, and embarked in the banking business with his brother, John

D. Corse, under the style of Corse Brothers ; where he is at present located.

In 1860, he organized, in Alexandria, a volunteer company called the "Old Dominion Rifles;" and later in the same year, when, in view of the approaching struggle between the Northern and Southern States, a battalion of volunteers was organized, he was elected Major of it. This battalion was composed of three infantry companies; the Alexandria Riflemen, Captain Morton Marye; Mount Vernon Guard, and Old Dominion Rifles, Captain Arthur Herbert; and the Alexandria Artillery, Captain Delaware Kemper. These infantry companies were afterwards merged in the 17th Regiment Virginia Infantry, which distinguished itself so greatly throughout the war; and the artillery company was afterwards so well known as Kemper's Battery, playing a brilliant part in the battles of Bull Run and Manassas. Gen., or as he then was, Major Corse, served for a time as Asst. Adjt. Gen. to the different commanding officers of the post of Alexandria during the early part of 1861, viz.: Brig.-Gen. Philip St. George Cocke, Col. Sydney Taylor, and George Terrett. After the evacuation of Alexandria by the Virginia troops, the falling back to Manassas, and the organization of a Confederate Army by Gen. G. T. Beauregard, Major Corse was assigned to the command of the 17th Regiment; Lieut.-Col., David Funsten; and Major, George Brent. Afterwards Lieut.-Col. Funsten was made Col. of the 11th Virginia, and Wm. Munford assigned as Lieut.-Col. in his place. Col. Corse commanded his

regiment in the engagement of Bull Run, at Blackburn's Ford, July 18, 1861, and battle of Manassas, July 21, 1861. He was at different periods, in this brigade, commanded by Longstreet, Ewell, Clark, A. P. Hill, and Kemper. With this brigade he fought his regiment at Yorktown, Williamsburg, Seven Pines, and in the seven days' fighting around the city of Richmond in 1862.

Col. Corse commanded Kemper's Brigade in the second battle of Manassas (Gen. Kemper commanding Division) when he was wounded slightly in the leg, and had his horse killed under him. He was on duty, however, the next day, and marched with his command into Maryland. He next commanded his regiment at the battle of Boonsborough, where he was wounded in the mouth.

At the battle of Sharpsburg or Antietam, he carried in his regiment (the 17th) with fifty-six men, and only brought out seven: Major Arthur Herbert, Lieut. Thomas Perry and five privates. Here Col. Corse was wounded a *third* time, and left for a time in the hands of the enemy, being unable to retire with his little remnant of "seven," but he was subsequently relieved by our advance.

Gen. Corse relates an incident of his temporary capture and suspense worth recording. While lying helpless from his wound he was surrounded by a small squad of the enemy, and one of these men, more brutal than the others, after asking him if he were wounded, deliberately prepared to shoot him, coolly cocking his gun and examining the cap; but one of his companions prevented this dastardly coward from perpetrating the act, and drove

him off with indignation ; at the same time promising to Col. Corse, protection and treatment becoming a prisoner of war. Gen. Corse has often mentioned this, as a remarkable act of humanity, for which he desires to give credit to an unknown soldier of the enemy.

On November 1, 1862, Col. Corse was commissioned Brig.-Gen., and assigned to the command of Pickett's old brigade. About this time, having obtained ten days leave of absence for the purpose, Gen. Corse was married to Miss Elizabeth Beverly ; and after much less than a "*lune de miel*," was ordered back to the army at Fredericksburg, to take command of a new brigade made up for him. This brigade was composed of the 15th, 17th, 30th, and 32d Virginia Regiments, to which was after added the 29th Virginia. Corse's Brigade became then a part of Pickett's Division and served with it throughout the war, always commanded by its gallant (old) commander.

When the army of Northern Virginia moved into Maryland on the campaign of 1863, Gen. Corse was left with his brigade, a North Carolina regiment, and some few mounted men, at Hanover Junction in Virginia, for the purpose of guarding the railroads and bridges and approaches to the city of Richmond. He was thus detached from his division and proper army, by orders of the War Department, and deprived of participation in that disastrous campaign as in the glorious but sad struggle of the division at Gettysburg. Meantime, Gen. Corse performed good service in this undesirable detached

against Newbern, to draw off attention from the attack (and capture) of Plymouth by Gen. Hoke, and assisted Hoke in the second attack upon Newbern.

Ordered to Petersburg, Gen. Corse commanded his own and Matt. Ranson's Brigades for a time; commanded his brigade again in the battle of Drewry's Farm, May 16, 1864, where he cleared the whole front before his command, taking about 600 prisoners, but losing several valuable officers, and many men. He then rejoined the army of Northern Virginia, with the division at Hanover Junction, from which his brigade was never again separated.

Gen. Corse was warmly engaged with Sheridan's Cavalry at Dinwiddie, March 31st, and the brigade behaved most handsomely both at Five Forks and Sailor's Creek, where Gen. Corse along with most of his officers and men, was captured. He was carried a prisoner-of-war to Fort Warren, in Boston harbor, where he was held until some time in August, 1865. He was finally released when the war was ended, and returned, like so many others of his brethren, to the peaceful avocations of citizen life. In the quiet contentment of home; still surrounded by those, so many of whom have shared his trials and perils of war, let us hope that this scarred old veteran may be forgetting the troubles of cruel civil war in the calm of peace, and remembering only the noble *devoir* done by himself, and the warm place he will ever hold in the hearts of his army companions.

CHAPTER XII.

CORSE'S BRIGADE.

IN November, 1862, a brigade composed of the 15th, 17th, and 30th Virginia Regiments was organized at Fredericksburg, to which were afterwards added the 29th and 32d Virginia, and the command assigned to Brig.-Gen. M. D. Corse, recently promoted from Colonel of the 17th Virginia. Gen. Corse had for a short period previously commanded Pickett's Brigade.

The 15th Regiment was recruited in the city of Richmond early in 1861; first commanded by Col. Thomas P. August (who was wounded at Malvern Hills, July 1, 1862, and incapacitated for field service from that time), subsequently by Lieut.-Col. E. M. Morrison. A portion of the regiment was engaged at the fight of "Bethel," May, 1861; served with the command of Gen. J. B. Magruder, on the Peninsula, during the first year of the war; fought with distinction at Malvern Hills, where its gallant Major, John Stuart Walker, was killed; attached to Semmes' Brigade, it participated in the Maryland campaign, 1862. The 17th Regiment, commanded by Col. Arthur Herbert, has already been mentioned as attached to Kemper's Brigade. The 30th, first commanded by Col. R. Milton Cary, subsequently by Col. Archy T. Harrison, recruited in Fredericksburg and Caroline County

at the beginning of the war, did service at Acquia Creek, supporting the batteries, in their affairs with the flotilla of the enemy's gun-boats, on the Potomac in 1861. Owing to the continual ill-health of Col. Harrison, this regiment was for the greater part of the war, under the immediate and able command of Lieut.-Col. Robert S. Chew, of Fredericksburg.

The 32d Regiment, recruited from several of the tide-water counties, commanded by Col. Edgar B. Montague, had been engaged with credit in various actions, before its attachment to this brigade.

At Petersburg, in the spring of 1863, the 29th Regiment, recruited in Western Virginia, and commanded by Col. James Giles, was detached from Colston's and assigned to this brigade. A large regiment, composed of sturdy mountaineers, it did good service on the Blackwater, and in various engagements. It was for some time ably commanded by Lieut.-Col. Arthur Herbert, of the 17th Virginia.

CHAPTER XIII.

MAJOR-GEN. GEORGE E. PICKETT.

THE commander of Pickett's Division, from its organization to the end of the war, was born in the city of Richmond on January 25, 1825. He is the son of Col. Robert Pickett, of Turkey Island, on James River, and Mary, daughter of Robert Johnston, Esq., of the city of Richmond. Gen. Pickett entered the Military Academy at West Point, June 20, 1842, and graduated in 1846; appointed Brvt. Second Lieut. in the 8th Regiment of Infantry, United States Army, July 1, 1846; engaged in war with Mexico, in battles of Siege of Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, Contreras, Churubusco, El Molino del Rey, Chapultepec, and taking of city of Mexico; breveted First Lieut. for "distinguished gallantry and meritorious conduct" in battles of Contreras and Churubusco; and breveted Captain for same in battle of Chapultepec; served on Indian frontier from 1849 to 1855 in Texas and New Mexico; promoted Captain in 9th Regiment, United States Infantry, March 3, 1855; served with his company in Oregon and on Pacific coast, from 1855 to 1861; commanded United States post at Island of San Juan when the government of Great Britain demanded the withdrawal of United States troops from that island.

Capt. Pickett refused to yield to this demand, and

with his small company, some forty men, defied the whole British force, until the question was finally settled between the two governments. For this gallant act, Capt. Pickett received the highest encomiums on all sides.

Soon after the commencement of the war, in 1861, while still on the Pacific Coast, Capt. Pickett resigned his commission in the United States Army, and hastened to his native State, in compliance with the call of the Governor of Virginia upon all of her absent sons to take part in her struggle for independence. In September, 1861, he was appointed Colonel, and assigned to command of forces on the lower Rappahannock. February 14, 1862, he was appointed Brig.-Gen., and assigned to the command of Cocker's Virginia Brigade of Infantry. Gen. Pickett commanded this brigade, from that time known as Pickett's Brigade, in the battles of Williamsburg, Seven Pines, and Gainey's Mill. Severely wounded at Gainey's Mill, June 27, 1862, he was kept out of the field until September of that year, when he reassumed command of his brigade at Martinsburg, Va., and was almost immediately assigned to command of a division composed of his own, Kemper's and Armistead's Virginia Brigades. Promoted to Major-Gen., October 10, 1862, he commanded his division in every action it was engaged in as a division: Fredericksburg, December, 1862; skirmishes around Suffolk, 1863; Gettysburg, July 3, 1863. In September, 1863, he was assigned the command of the Department of North Carolina and Virginia, which

he held with great distinction until relieved by Gen. Beauregard in May, 1864. While in this command he superintended in person the attack upon Newbern, N. C., in February, 1864; and projected, intending to command in person the attack upon, and capture of, Plymouth, N. C.; commanded his division again in the army of Northern Virginia, confronted to Gen. Grant's advance on the North Anna and Chickahominy, in May and June, 1864; drove off Gen. Butler, and recaptured lines on the Bermuda Hundreds Peninsula, June 17, 1864; held these lines in security from that time until March, 1865; when his division was relieved by Mahone's, and sent off on a wild-goose chase after Sheridan's raiders and marauders. Immediately after returning from this bootless expedition to the service (and *shoeless* to the men engaged in it), he was dispatched with three of his brigades, March 29, 1865, to the extreme left of the enemy's lines at Hatcher's Run. Here, given a mixed command, consisting of his own three brigades, two small infantry brigades, six rifled pieces of artillery, and all of the cavalry present, he made his attack at Five Forks on the flank of the enemy (cavalry), in the afternoon of March 30th, drove them off, and continued to drive them to Dinwiddie Court-House on March 31st.

On April 1st (the "All-fools-day" of the Confederacy), his small force, having fallen back to Five Forks, was, in turn, surrounded, and almost entirely swallowed up by the superior force of the enemy. With the remnant of his own division, re-inforced by Hunton's Bri-

gade, which had not been at Five Forks, Gen. Pickett made his last gallant fight at Sailor's Creek, April 6, 1865, and surrendered with about 800 of his old division, at Appomattox Court-House, April 9, 1865.

There was some absurd rumor afloat, immediately after the surrender of the army of Northern Virginia, to the effect that Pickett's Men had all been captured or "gone home" before the surrender, and that Gen. Pickett, and Gen. R. H. Anderson, and Gen. Bushrod Johnston had been relieved of command also before the surrender, but in this there can be no truth. The only official papers I have in my hands relate to these last affairs at Appomattox Court-House, viz.: the official parole of Gen. Pickett, staff (general and personal), brigadier-general, field officers, and enlisted men, making an aggregate of nine hundred and eighty-seven; as well as the corps and army headquarters orders issued to Gen. Pickett, April 10, 1865, one of which is published in the body of this work, and the response in Gen. Pickett's official report.

Gen. Pickett's military career is a brilliant one, giving to a division of Virginia soldiers a name which will forever stand high in the pages of history; he receives the reflected honor and glory of having commanded such troops. He possessed in a remarkable degree the confidence of his men, as well as of his superior officers.

Whenever there was heavy work to be done, these officers knew that they could depend upon Pickett to do it; and he always felt conscious that his men would follow him, even into the jaws of death.

Gen. Pickett's Department-command in North Carolina, on the Blackwater line and around Petersburg, was conducted with much credit. His prompt defence of Petersburg, when threatened by Butler in 1864, and his continued appeals to the Government (which were neglected) to strengthen the defences on the south side of James River, before that attack was made, together with the fact of his volunteering to remain in Petersburg after he was relieved from command, in order to wait for the coming of Gen. Beauregard, deserve remark in this brief biography.

CHAPTER XIV.

PICKETT'S DIVISION.

IN the month of September, 1862, Brig.-Gen. George E. Pickett, having recovered from the effects of his wound received at Gaine's Mill, reported with his personal staff to the army of Northern Virginia at Martinsburg, then just returned from the first campaign into Maryland. He assumed command of his brigade, then much reduced in numbers and falling back with the army towards Winchester.

Here a reorganization of the army was perfected. Corps and new division distinctions were made. Pickett's, Kemper's, and Jenkin's (South Carolina) Brigades were consolidated into a division, attached to Longstreet's 1st Army Corps, and the command assigned to Pickett, then strongly recommended, and soon after promoted, to the grade of Major-Gen. In the same month Armistead's Brigade was added to this division. Brig.-Gen. M. D. Corse was temporarily assigned the command of Pickett's Brigade. In November, the division was moved from Orange Court-House to Fredericksburg, where it was confronted with Burnside's Army of the Potomac. Here a new brigade was formed and the command given to Brig.-Gen. Corse. Brig.-Gen. Richard B. Garnett was then assigned to the command

of Pickett's old brigade, and its designation from that time changed to Garnett's Brigade.

Thus the division was then composed of Garnett's, Armistead's, Kemper's, and Corse's Virginia, and Jenkins' (formerly R. H. Anderson's) South Carolina Brigades.

The general staff assigned to the division, was Col. Robert Johnson (Capt. of Regular Cavalry), acting Asst. Adjt. Gen. in the absence, on account of wound, of Major Charles Pickett, A. A. Gen.; Lieut.-Col. Walter Harrison (Major, Adjt.-Gen's. Department), A. A. and Inspector-General; Major C. W. Chancellor, Chief Surgeon of division; Major R. Taylor Scott, Chief Quartermaster; Major Horace W. Jones, Chief Commissary; and First Lieut. Samuel G. Leitch, Ordnance Officer.

Gen. Pickett's aides-de-camp were: First Lieut. Edward R. Baird, First Lieut. W. Stuart Symington, and First Lieut. Robert A. Bright, Vol. A. D. C. Four batteries of field artillery were attached to the division under the command of Major James Dearing.

Although thus composed of well tried troops, the division was first on a battle-field as a distinct organization, at the battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862. Here it held position in reserve, the centre of Longstreet's Corps, and was never fully reached in the attack of the enemy. A small portion of its troops only (part of Kemper's Brigade) was engaged actively, about the famous "stone fence" at the foot of Marye's Hill. The strength of the division at this time was about 9,000; and the casualties in its partial engagement trifling (about 40).

CHAPTER XV.

BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG.

I do not purpose to enter into any description of the battle of Fredericksburg, in which "Pickett's Men" were scarcely allowed or required to take any part. Burnside's attack, although fierce and determined, was successfully repulsed at every point with great loss to him. Gen. Lee's position was so well selected and defended that only a portion of the first line, near Hamilton's Crossing, was driven back for a time, by the repeated assaults of Franklin's superior force, but soon reinforced, and the ground recovered. Meanwhile, the reserve force of Gen. Longstreet was scarce restrained like impatient "dogs of war" in leash, anxious to rush to the destruction of a foe who was not permitted to reach them.

Gen. Longstreet, who was engaged with Gen. Lee in another part of the field watching the progress of the battle, had left directions with his Division-commanders, Pickett and Hood, to hold their ground simply in defence, unless an opportunity should occur to pitch into the enemy while he was engaged with A. P. Hill on the right.

During the progress of the fight, Pickett thought he saw this very opportunity open, and proposed to Gen.

Hood to take advantage of it. Franklin's column had advanced, on the extreme right, somewhat beyond Hood's and Pickett's front, leaving his flank open; and when repulsed in front, both Hood's and Pickett's Divisions might have turned their whole force upon him, and done incalculable damage to him in the open field through which he was forced to retire. Gen. Pickett has told me that he not only made the suggestion to Gen. Hood in person, but sent a message to Gen. Longstreet to know whether, under the detailed circumstances, they should not "push in" at once. Of course, any delay in such a moment settled the question, and the opportunity was lost. It has been said, that if Burnside had succeeded in getting deeper into the "toils" set for him by Gen. Lee, on this field, it would have resulted in the total destruction of his army; but we have nothing to do with speculations. After the battle of Fredericksburg, the division remained bivouacked in the rear, but still picketing the Rappahannock River below Fredericksburg. It was moved to the left to meet Burnside's attempted crossing at Bank's Ford, and after (early in February, 1863) marched to Richmond, and thence to Petersburg, on Longstreet's expedition to Suffolk, Va., and North Carolina. Followed by Hood's Division, it accomplished this trying march in the midst of winter, and most inclement weather. During this continued march of ten days, the ground was covered either with snow or sleet, and hundreds of the men were without shoes or blankets. Overcoats were unknown. Many of the men were *shod*

with only the improvised moccasin of raw beef-hide; and their heads covered with little else more rain-proof than a shock of matted hair, rather fantastically, if uncomfortably, embellished with pendant icicles.

Yet these gallant tatterdemalions, no better off than "our ragged troops of '76," performed their march right cheerfully. They passed through Richmond without halt or straggling, receiving the cheers and hurried greetings of their many friends and relatives with a conscious pride that lent a momentary activity to limbs stiffened with cold and weary with being dragged over sixty miles of half-frozen slushy roads. They received gratefully the bread and meat hastily thrust into their hands as they marched on; for their haversacks were empty, and the "Grand Commissariat" of the army was never to be relied on. Nor did any old battered canteen, secretly filled by some good Samaritan, with a fluid more warming to the heart than sympathetic tears (or ditch-water), scatter its drops on a "stony soil." Its contents might as well have been poured upon the sands of the desert, so quickly was it swallowed up; but it brought balm to many an "aching void" other than the heart. There was no time, however, for these heroes to "linger over the sweets of the bowl." The steady "tramp, tramp," must be kept up, even through these hospitable streets; and "crambambuli" taken at a "flying gulp, and down she goes." These two years' veterans were scarcely recognizable by their own mothers, as the tidy boys who had "gone out for glory," in resplendent uniforms and

shining equipments, with haversacks and knapsacks well stuffed by fair hands, with ample provision for both the inner and the outer soldier. *Apropos*; an amusing incident is related of an Irish company of the 1st Regiment, in this connection. The "Montgomery Guard," commanded by that noble soldier and gentleman, Major John Dooley, now, alas! no more, had gone into the war, handsomely gotten up in their "green and gold," emblematic of the Emerald Isle, well supplied with all the substantial accessories to match; some time after they had "seen service" enough, to take off not only all the pomp and circumstance, but the very teguments of their bravery in costume, their regiment was passing through a village, when some civilian asked what regiment it was. "Faix, an' its the Bloody First, ye spalpeen;" replied a facetious Pat; "an' didn't ye know us by our illigant clothes?" This lively irony would have applied admirably to any one of the regiments in the division on its march through Richmond, in February, 1863. In this plight, however, they put on their best behavior in passing through crowds of relatives and friends, whom they had not seen for months, and to whom they could only give a fleeting recognition from the ranks; and with a severe trial of moral firmness, harder to bear than to face an enemy, these heroes of so many battle-fields turned their backs once more upon home and friends.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SUFFOLK EXPEDITION.

IN the works around Petersburg the division made but a short stay. Gen. Longstreet soon inaugurated his supply and foraging expedition into North Carolina. In the extreme north-eastern counties of that State it was known that there were large quantities of corn and bacon, articles of which our whole army was then in so much need. This whole section of country had been, since the capture of Roanoke Island, and our abandonment of Norfolk and Suffolk, in a sort of quiet possession of the enemy. Our lines extended only to the Blackwater River on the east, where only a small body of Confederate troops, under Gen. Pryor or Colston, had served to hold the enemy in check. Gen. Longstreet determined to make a strong demonstration against Suffolk, and to send at the same time detached brigades into North Carolina and wagon trains to secure these necessary supplies.

Pickett's and Hood's Divisions of his corps had been detached from the army of Northern Virginia for this purpose, leaving his third division (McLaw's) with Gen. Lee at Fredericksburg. We know that this division did good service at Chancellorsville. Hood's Division was sent directly to Suffolk; Jenkins' Brigade from Pickett's

Division soon followed. Garnett's and Kemper's Brigades were sent on separate expeditions into eastern North Carolina. Soon after, Armistead's and Corse's Brigades were despatched down James River and on the line of the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad towards Suffolk. The battalion of artillery attached to Pickett's Division, commanded by Major James Dearing, was sent direct to Suffolk, with all the available artillery about Petersburg. Thus in March, 1863, Suffolk was threatened in front, and its garrison kept pretty well confined within their strong works, while the successful operation of gathering and hauling off corn and bacon from the surrounding country was carried on, without serious opposition, for six or seven weeks.

There were frequent sallies made by the enemy from Suffolk, and a great deal of heavy skirmishing during this period, but no extended engagement was fought. Our loss sustained in valuable officers and men was quite considerable, nevertheless. Besides the infantry casualties, we met with a serious loss in one of the finest batteries attached to Pickett's Division. And this was accomplished by a piece of unpardonable carelessness.

"Stribling's Battery," the Fauquier Artillery, had been detached by order of Gen. French, then commanding all of the artillery, and placed in an old earthwork on the Nansemond River, far in advance of our lines. This work was situated on a point of land entirely open in the rear, and the battery only supported by two small companies of the 44th Alabama Infantry. Two gun-boats of the

enemy attempting to pass this battery were fired into and one of them sunk, the other driven off. No other attempt was made to pass, but a heavy and incessant fire from the gun-boats and land batteries was kept up for two days and nights. Under cover of this fire, three regiments of the enemy were landed in rear of the work, and, after a fierce resistance, this gallant little squad was overwhelmed, fighting hand to hand at the guns, and those not killed were all captured, together with the pieces they had fought and defended so well. These were five splendid guns, three brass Napoleons and two twenty-four-pounder brass howitzers; all pieces captured from the enemy and highly prized. The whole command was captured, except the drivers and battery-horses which, under the charge of Lieut. Carroll, were some distance in the rear, and managed to escape.

Thus was foolishly sacrificed an excellent battery; and it is due to Capt. Stribling to say, that it was by no fault of himself or officers. He had been peremptorily ordered into this isolated and indefensible position, and kept there without proper support, until he was cut off and overwhelmed by numbers.

The object of this expedition having been accomplished, and large quantities of both meat and grain secured, on the night of May 4th—just about the time that, unknown to us, Gen. Lee was driving back Hooker's army at Chancellorsville—Longstreet's whole force was quietly withdrawn from Suffolk, and before the enemy well knew of our departure we were across the Black-

water. At South Quay we heard of Gen. Lee's success at Chancellorsville, on the anniversary of the battle of Williamsburg. From this point, Hood's Division was hurried on, to proceed by rail to rejoin Gen. Lee's Army, and we were preparing to follow, when orders were received to proceed to Petersburg by the Jerusalem plank-road, in order to intercept a cavalry raiding-party, which was supposed would pass down the south side of James River towards Suffolk.

But this did not happen, and the division, without Jenkins' Brigade, marched on through Petersburg and Richmond to rejoin the army of Northern Virginia at Culpepper Court-House.

Jenkins' Brigade was left on the Blackwater, and never was with the division again, though still held as a part of its organization.

Early in June, 1863, after this trifling diversion of four months on the road and at Suffolk, having marched every foot of the way, going and coming, we found ourselves—that is, only three brigades of us—on nearly the same ground we had left in the winter, and started almost directly on the Pennsylvania campaign of 1863.

Corse's Brigade had been detained at Hanover Junction to protect the railroads and bridges near Richmond. Its detention was promised to be only temporary, and that this brigade should rejoin us immediately; but, from some cause deemed sufficient by the authorities in Richmond, it was never allowed to do so, until some time after the battle of Gettysburg.

In the same manner, Jenkins' Brigade was detained in a "masterly inactivity" in and about Petersburg, while this important movement was going on in the enemy's country.

Before moving on the Pennsylvania campaign, which resulted so disastrously to the whole army, and especially to his division, Gen. Pickett earnestly and repeatedly asked that these two brigades, numbering nearly four thousand men, should be permitted to rejoin him; and Gen. Lee strongly urged the application, but to no avail, with the War Department. The same apathy, or adverse determination which it is said so signally interfered with Gen. Lee's plans for an extensive campaign in the enemy's country, at this time, seems to have prevented this important addition to the strength of his command.

With these two brigades, Pickett's Division, in its celebrated charge at Gettysburg, would have been over eight thousand instead of only forty-seven hundred strong. Whether the presence of these two large brigades, of as good and proved fighting material as any in the army, would have materially affected the result of that terrible day—the very turning point of the war—is not for me to say. I shall not pretend to argue here, or even in its more proper place, when I come to an account of that decisive battle, the facts of a failure, which was certain, or the probability of success under other circumstances. Leaving those doubtful questions to more competent authority, I shall endeavor to stick closely to the fortunes and misfortunes of the division alone.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PENNSYLVANIA CAMPAIGN, 1863.

CROSSING the Blue Ridge at Snicker's Gap, and the Shenandoah River at Castleman's Ferry, the division was detained for several days at that point, and near Berryville, to be in supporting distance of Stuart's Cavalry, which was skirmishing with, and watching the movements of, the enemy on the south side of the mountains. A portion of the division crossed and re-crossed the Shenandoah no less than six times during this delay.

Meantime Ewell's advance corps had driven Milroy out of Winchester, and crossed the Potomac after him. Rode's Division had taken Berryville and Martinsburg; and Imbodens Cavalry had cut and destroyed the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in several places. The road was all open to us, but here we tarried.

On June 24th we crossed the Potomac at Williamsport without opposition, and went into bivouac on the Maryland shore.

A. P. Hill's Corps crossed lower down the river on the same day, and met us at Hagerstown, Md., on the morning of the 26th.

Making no delay here, longer than was necessary to pass the division through, in rear of Hill's Corps, we

moved on up the Cumberland Valley, and bivouacked at Greencastle.

The strong Southern sympathy of Maryland, so much talked of, had certainly not developed itself as yet. Some few persons in Hagerstown, received the Confederate troops with warmth; but the great majority, like those of Williamsport, and even Martinsburg, in Virginia, seemed to look upon us as disturbers of the peace at least, if not actual rebels. This second invasion of Maryland was a fair chance for the chivalric youth who, we had been so long told, were pining in captivity to ally themselves with the Southern cause, to come out of their oppression; but I have yet to learn that there was any considerable accession to our army from this source. Maryland was a much more "loyal" State than she had been given credit for. I believe her active sympathy was pretty well exhausted in the number of gallant spirits who came over to Virginia early in 1861, and did such valuable service throughout the war. Of these brave men, too much cannot be said in praise. No better truer soldiers, could be found in the Confederate service; nor should the kindness, as well as the sufferings "for opinion's sake," of many of those, who were obliged to remain at home, be ever forgotten.

Of course, to none but the commanding general, and perhaps his chief lieutenants, was the destination and full object of this grand move known. It was whispered about among the officers, and sometimes hinted at in General Orders, that it was to be the grandest exploit of

all history; that Gen. Lee was pressing forward as rapidly as possible to threaten the great Northern cities, until he could turn down the Susquehanna, cut off the railroad connections, destroy the bridges, throw *his* army north of Baltimore, thus isolating that city and Washington from the North; while a large force under Beauregard would follow directly from Richmond by way of Manassas to Washington, in rear of, and pressing upon, Hooker's Army, which would be necessarily in pursuit of Lee.

This grand programme, if successfully carried out, would have, at least, surrounded the army of the Potomac entirely by land, and placed it and Baltimore and Washington in a most precarious position. Whether such a great move was really ever contemplated—or, being planned, was “nipped in the bud” by the controlling powers at Richmond; or whether it was only a “grape-vine” of the camps—remains yet to be told by one of the few informed.

Certainly the officers and men on this “forward” expedition were inspired with the greatest confidence, and never an army moved into an enemy's country in better fighting condition and spirit.

There was no straggling, no desertion, nor disorder; and comparatively no plundering nor destruction of private property. An army of sixty thousand effective men was marching through an enemy's country almost without obstruction; and really committing less depredation than they would have done in Virginia. Gen.

Lee's orders respecting the discipline of his command, and the preservation of private property, were never before so strictly enforced and obeyed. Humane and noble as this order was in the true spirit of civilized warfare, its entire *policy* may be very well questioned.

It was very far from producing the desired effect upon the people of this hostile territory.

First, they wondered at, and then they ridiculed its leniency. From expecting and being prepared to give up the little they had not already disposed of, to force, they very soon came to refusing anything whatever to solicitations or to purchase. "Greenbacks" were at a heavy discount, but they laughed at Confederate "scrip" as nothing; while, at this moment, the country was being flooded with counterfeit Confederate notes, manufactured in Philadelphia. The "Christian Order" spread before the advance of the army in the peaceful valley of the Cumberland. The printing-presses of the towns struck off thousands of copies for circulation among their citizens and neighbors of the mountain and plain. The farmers of the country, having first run off all of their serviceable stock, hidden all articles of value which might be taken for army use or supplies, would shake this printed "act of civilization" under the very noses of prying quarter-masters and commissaries, even when one of these officers happened to discover a good artillery or wagon-horse hidden away in a hay-loft of one of their magnificent barns; a fine transportation wagon taken to pieces, and sunk in the bed of a stream; or sometimes a

And yet, your whiskey is good, Penn! very good; but your water is bad, very bad.

Your crops, nearly ready for the harvest, were beautiful in June, 1863—especially beautiful to those who had left *no* crops at home; whose mothers and sisters and little children were wanting for bread. Your mills were running peacefully, the streams rippling merrily, and the wheels turning steadily even as an invading army passed by. Those flourishing crops, mostly met their appointed death by the sickle of the owners; and the mills ground them up in *their* appointed time, as if no foe had ever been near. The whiskey stills suffered, of course; for, as I have said, the water was very bad—as hard almost as the limestone rock from which it springs, and the men much preferring the juice of the rye, it was necessary to destroy great quantities of this seductive fluid for the preservation of good order and military discipline. “Only this, and nothing more.”

We entered Chambersburg, June 27th, the anniversary of the battle of Gaine's Mill, and marched directly through the town to camp, about four miles beyond, on the York road. This place had the appearance of a deserted village, or county court-house on a wet Sunday. The streets were empty, the shops closed, and no one to be seen, except an occasional knot of men or boys at the street corners sullenly scowling upon the “secesh” as they moved steadily by. No notice was taken of these few persons by the troops, and nothing but amusement created among them by the Union spirit exhib-

ited by some of the fair Chambersburgeresses. One young lady volunteered to deliver us a spicy address from the terraced garden of one of the prettiest villa residences in the north-eastern end of the town, which was responded to by "Dixie" from one of our bands.

The division was detained three or four days at Chambersburg, charged with the destruction of the railroad depots, workshops, and public machinery. No private property was disturbed. It was ordered us to remain until relieved by Imboden's command, which did not occur until some time during the night of July 1st. On the morning of the 2d, at two o'clock, we moved on the Gettysburg road. The two other divisions of Longstreet's Corps thus had twenty-four hours' start of us on the road. We pushed on as fast as possible, crossing the South Mountain, viewing with silent sorrow the destruction of Thad. Steven's iron works, not knowing how long this personal injury would rankle in the breast of that respectable old furnace, and accomplished about twenty-three miles that hot day by two o'clock, P. M.

The men were parched by the excessive heat and the dust of the road when they were halted for rest, about three miles from Gettysburg.

On this march, for the first time in many days, we encountered signs of hostility. On the passage of the South Mountain, the division was saluted with a few random shots from "Bushwhackers" secreted in the gorges on the crags of the mountain pass; and on getting to the eastern side of the range, we first heard the sound

We had all learned enough before this time, to know that when our old war chief holds you back in one place he means deadly and double mischief in some other.

Meantime Longstreet's other divisions, McLaw's and Hood's, had been ramming it into the enemy's left all the afternoon, but with what success we could not know. The heavy firing continued until dark, and then all was quiet, until the *reveille* of next morning, July 3d; that last earthly *reveille*, and final trump of so many of our noble boys, aroused from their slumbers, and put our three brigades *en route* for the centre of the battle-field of the third day at Gettysburg.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PICKETT'S MEN AT GETTYSBURG.

THE regular order of march on that day happened to be: Kemper's Brigade first; Garnett's second; and Armistead's last. Starting out, from our night's bivouac, near the stone bridge on the road between Cashtown and Gettysburg, just a little before daylight, these brigades moved to the right and south-east of this road, and by a valley whose mouth opens just opposite the Cemetery Hill and centre of the enemy's position, we reached our line of battle ground, concealed from the line of the enemy by a range of hills which runs parallel to Cemetery Ridge and nearly equi-distant between the two opposing forces. In this valley a halt was made, and the usual inspection of arms and loading for action perfected. The number of muskets was *four thousand four hundred and eighty-one*; and the aggregate effective strength, about *forty-seven hundred*, rank and file. Our line of battle was then formed, immediately facing the enemy. Coming into line from column, right in front, Kemper's Brigade held the right, Garnett's on his left, and Armistead's, for which there was not room in extended line of battle, was formed immediately in rear of the others. Fences and other obstructions in front of the line were cleared away, and the command only

from the Round Top, which had enfiladed us throughout. Hundreds were slain in attempting to recross the plain, who had escaped the thickest of the *mêlée*; and the major part of the command were too far advanced to escape capture. The scattered few who succeeded in regaining the original line of the morning, were mostly without arms, wounded, and exhausted. An effort was made by Gen. Lee to rally the remnant for a renewed attack, but there could scarcely a good-sized regiment have been collected, and no field officer to command it. The enemy did not attempt to follow up this discomfiture. Although successfully repulsing us, he had been too much harassed to desire any more fighting. Our dead and wounded lay between the lines, and the enemy's sharp-shooters fired upon our litter-bearers whenever an attempt was made to bring off the wounded. Many were brought in after dark, but we were still in ignorance of the actual fate and condition of the great majority of our officers and men until many days after. The sun that had risen so brightly upon our confident hopes, buoyant in anticipation of victory, set in sullen, angry sadness upon that field of carnage, where our bravest and best lay weltering in their gore and glory; where our cup of bitterness was filled to the overflowing, and where our resources were so crippled, that we never—no, never—recovered from the blow. The whole army occupied its position the greater portion of the next day, July 4th, and on the evening of that day commenced its retreat towards the Potomac. Our general loss must have been

wounds, receiving every kindly attention at the hands of his former companions-in-arms of the United States Army. Brig.-Gen. Kemper was also desperately wounded, but was brought off the field, and to our hospital, where he was subsequently taken prisoner and sent to the hospital at Gettysburg. He was supposed to be mortally wounded, but after a long time recovered, and was exchanged. The fate of these two last-named officers was for a long time in doubt with us. Poor Armistead, than whom a better, braver soul never ascended to heaven, breathed his last at Gettysburg; while it pleased a Divine Providence, almost against all hope, to preserve Kemper for further service in a cause he supported so well. While in his precarious condition he was readily exchanged for Brig.-Gen. Graham, taken prisoner by us at Gettysburg. This was the fate of the Brigade Commanders. Of the colonels of regiments, seven were killed on the field: Hodges, Edmonds, Magruder, Williams, Patton, Allen, and Owens, and one, Stuart, was mortally wounded. Three lieut.-cols. were killed: Calcott, Wade, and Ellis. Five colonels, Hunton, Terry, Garnett, Mayo, and Aylett were wounded; and three lieut.-cols., commanding regiments, Carrington, Otey, and Richardson were wounded. In fine, of the whole complement of field officers in fifteen regiments, one only escaped unhurt. This was Lieut.-Col. Joseph C. Cabell, who was afterwards killed in the battle of Drewry's Farm, May 16, 1864. The loss of company officers was quite equal in proportion. Thus were these three bri-

gades deprived at one fell swoop of the very flower of their officers and men; a loss never to be fully repaired. For more reasons therefore than one, this terrible repulse at Gettysburg was the most crushing blow, and in fact the grand turning-point of the war. Apply, even in diminished ratio, this fearful loss of the best material to the other commands of the army of Northern Virginia, and you at once reach the *downhill* of resistance.

Not that *this* descent to Avernus, was easy; for we had yet to attain the Stygian shades of subjugation by a most rugged path.

That 4th of July lowered grimly upon our shattered hopes and broken fortunes. Sad and disheartened, we turned our backs upon our unburied dead and mutilated living, uncared for by the hands, but truly mourned in the hearts, of the surviving few. Gen. Lee sent more than one flag of truce for the privilege of looking after his dead and wounded lying on the battle-field, but it was denied him. Evidently, Gen. Meade was not in a conciliatory or cheerful state of mind, upon his negative victory. It proved subsequently that he was as little in mind for more fighting at that moment, as his distinguished adversary. I venture to say that though the brow of either chieftain was crowned with laurel, the countenance of neither was "wreathed in smiles" on that sad morning. If Lee, in his bruised condition, was forced to go, Meade was in no condition to press him.

I do not mean to borrow from general history the doubtful statistics of losses or gains at Gettysburg.

carried out. Not being permitted to release them at this point, I was required to march them on with the rest of the prisoners. During the day, a Col. Tilden, I think of a Maine regiment, who was probably the ranking officer and spokesman of them, applied to me to cancel their paroles, as the main object in getting them was to avoid a long and fatiguing march. This I immediately agreed to, as in good faith I felt bound to do, and the paroles were destroyed.

Thus we moved on with all of our prisoners to Williamsport, where we found the Potomac so much swollen, that it was impossible to cross them over to the Virginia side for several days. Here, I was directed to transfer our "charge of honor" to Gen. Imboden, who was to escort them to Staunton. If it were with any reluctance individually that the Inspector-General was forced to part with this agreeable company, it was only with joy that Pickett's Men gave them up, and embraced the chance of getting once more to the front, with their more favored companions-in-arms. Here too, Gen. Pickett had the gratification of receiving for his command the following explanatory and complimentary note from the General commanding the army, whose special commendation was as valuable as it was rare:

HEADQUARTERS, A. N. VA., JULY 9, 1863.

[*Official Extract.*]

GENERAL: Your letter of the 8th has been received. It was with reluctance that I imposed upon your gallant

ston until after night-fall, so as to make their appearance at the different points before Newbern only about daylight.

The start made was a very good one. Dearing, with his small force, succeeded in attracting the attention of the enemy to the point opposite to that of intended attack.

The expedition of boats, under Col. Wood, was a complete success. Taking their enemy by surprise, they boarded and captured, after some severe opposition, a gun-boat lying under the guns of the forts on either side of the river.

The column of infantry with Gen. Pickett first struck the enemy's outposts at Bachelor's Creek, about seven miles in front of Newbern, at two o'clock in the morning, captured the vidette and advanced picket without noise, and drove in the reserve picket, across Bachelor's Creek, to the protection of a small block-house fort on the bridge-head.

The bridge had been constructed with loose flooring planks, and the guard in retiring pulled off the planks after them, rendering the bridge impassable. The stream is narrow, but deep, at this point, not fordable even in low water.

Thus the advance of our troops was temporarily checked; and this insignificant (in point of numbers) bridge-guard, made a fierce resistance from their little block-house, for two or three hours, against a whole brigade of infantry and battery of artillery. True, it

intervening marshy ground, Gen. Pickett, after remaining the whole of the next day in front of Newbern, retired the next morning towards Kinston, forced to abandon the prize of Newbern, when it was almost within his grasp. I am not writing a personal history ; but *Uncle Toby* says : "They swore terribly in Flanders."

This Newbern expedition, although a failure in its grand object, was by no means unimportant in some of its fruits.

We captured about five hundred prisoners, some two hundred horses, and a great deal of valuable property, subsistence stores, clothing, and camp equipage. The most valuable capture, however, was a section of the 3d New York Artillery, with fine horses and equipments, complete, officers and men.

One of the outposts of Newbern was a place called "Beech Grove," a sort of camp of instruction, at this time, and pretty well defended by a block-house fort. It was garrisoned by about two or three hundred infantry, and this section of artillery, two steel rifled guns. This place might have readily escaped our observation and capture, not being on our road of approach to Newbern, if we had not fortunately intercepted a courier bearing a dispatch from the commanding officer of the post to Gen. Palmer, then commanding at Newbern. This dispatch, asking for reinforcements, declares that the heroic commandant will hold his place to the *last man*, unless relieved sooner. It is singular how difficult in warfare this "last man" has been to find ; the *first* man is some-

arms, pending the capitulation. This they succeeded in doing; but subsequently some thirty-five of the number were recaptured, with arms in their hands, by a small scouting party of the 30th Regiment, and brought in as prisoners. They were fully equipped in the uniform of the regular United States Infantry; and at first supposed to be regular recruits, escaped from this camp of instruction.

Here it will be necessary, in justice to Gen. Pickett and his command, to detail one of those painful episodes of civil war—always to be regretted, but rendered necessary by the circumstances—I mean the trial by court-martial and execution of several of these unfortunate men.

Especially, as this matter has been made the subject of much personal animadversion and subsequent investigation, is it pertinent and proper that a plain statement of the facts should be given here.

When these prisoners were first brought in, their true character was not at all known. They were all newly clothed in the regular United States Infantry uniform, and had all the appearance of regular army recruits. Of course, for the time being, they were treated as prisoners of war. It was only on a subsequent day when all of the prisoners taken were listed properly, preparatory to their being sent off to Kinston, N. C., that several of these men were recognized by their former companions as having been in the Confederate Army, and consequently as deserters. Thus taken with arms in their hands, and fighting under a hostile flag, there could be no

doubt as to what was to be done with them. They were at once separated from the prisoners of war and placed in charge of the provost guard. None of the men of this 2d North Carolina Loyal Regiment who were not recognized as deserters were disturbed; but, on the contrary, were treated as prisoners of war. Until the arrival of the command at Kinston, only three had already been fully recognized as deserters; and a majority of them would certainly have escaped a just punishment but for the dastardly and miserable denunciations of their own comrades in guilt. Every chance was given them to elude conviction, and they were openly warned to confess nothing. But, unhappily, the wretches who were well known, not only as deserters, but as the worst of marauders and depredators upon the borders, after their desertion, had no idea of suffering alone. They pointed out, from the ranks of prisoners of war, many who would otherwise have escaped detection; and one or more of them even volunteered prosecuting evidence before the court-martial that subsequently tried them. One of these wretches was a sergeant, had his company roster in his pocket, and actually designated the deserters upon it by name, and picked them out for the provost marshal. I am happy to say that this fellow's cruel villainy availed him nothing. He was the last one tried by the court, after testifying against his companions, and one of the first hung after his conviction. He had felicitated himself throughout, that his treacherous state's evidence would save him.

The court-martial convened for the trial of these men was as fair and impartial a court as ever sat. Composed of seven of the most intelligent and humane officers in the service: four field officers and three captains, with a judge-advocate of talent and kindness of heart, these unfortunate and misguided wretches could have suffered nothing for want of justice or mercy. Tried by the rules of United States courts-martial as they were, and under the articles of war, identical in effect with those of the United States, most of them could have no chance. It was flagrant desertion from one army and subsequent enlistment in another. Wherever there could be any mitigation of the offence, it was allowed by the court in their favor, and every defence urged for them.

I would not speak from recollection of the particular sentences of the court, but in several cases I am sure the extreme condemnation to death was not made where any sufficient palliating circumstances could be shown. Two musicians, for instance, drummers, were sentenced to "hard labor" only. One sergeant, who had been in the Confederate service—but who had been suspected, and confined in prison for some time—escaped and then enlisted with the enemy, was acquitted and discharged on that statement of facts. Another, who it was shown was a conscript, was discharged on that ground. And thus, wherever mercy could temper justice the court was glad to extend it.

There was quite a clamor made about this sad tragedy, at the time. A spirited correspondence passed between

Gen. Pickett and Gen. Butler : strong talk of reprisal, and the *lex talionis* : and subsequently the two governments got at it. It was simply an error ever to have supposed it anything but a fair trial, and execution by law, of our own men, enlisted volunteers as they were, for the worst sort of desertion to the enemy, and being found fighting in their ranks.

Ever since the close of the war, some effort has been made to hold Gen. Pickett personally responsible for the death of these men. He had no more to do with it, than as Commanding-General of the Department of North Carolina to convene the court, and to confirm the sentence passed by it. In point of fact, Gen. Pickett was not present at Kinston when the court sat or found its sentences ; but at Weldon, to which point the findings of the court were sent to him for approval or disapproval. But this is not material. I have thought proper, and endeavored, to give here a plain statement of facts alone, for the benefit of subsequent history, and for all concerned. I wish to state further, for the benefit of the same parties, that it has been the opinion of many good men, both during and since the war, that if such a just and salutary example had been offered both earlier and oftener it would have been far better for the cause and for the men who supported it.

Such examples are always painful ; but it is as necessary for discipline and safety that cowards and traitors should die in the cold blood of felons as that brave men should be sacrificed for honor in the warm blood of glory.

There was another absurd story afloat after this Newbern expedition, which caused some official correspondence, to which it may be as well to give the lie in passing. It was charged that we had killed in cold blood some negro Union soldier or soldiers in consequence of the shooting of Col. Shaw, of a North Carolina regiment. Now, Col. Shaw was killed by a random ball, some distance in rear of where a skirmish was going on at Bachelor's Creek, and before his regiment was engaged. It was never known, of course, by whom he was shot, nor were there any negro troops engaged with us at Newbern that I know of, nor were any taken prisoners. Yet a flourish of empty horns was blown over this fabrication. No prisoners taken by Pickett's command, who were entitled to recognition as prisoners of war, were ever treated in any other manner than according to the amenities of civilized warfare.

After the affair of Newbern, the three brigades of Pickett's Division, Barton's, Corse's, and Terry's (Hunton's was still retained around defences of Richmond), remained in North Carolina until May, 1864, participating meanwhile in the capture of Plymouth, N. C.

Gen. Pickett was to have commanded this expedition in person, but upon the point of proceeding from his headquarters at Petersburg for that purpose, he was directed by dispatch from the War Department to give the command to Brig.-Gen. Hoke. Hoke's, Terry's, and Ransom's Brigades constituted the force.

CHAPTER XX.

BUTLER'S CAMPAIGN ON THE JAMES.

THE department of North Carolina, commanded by Gen. Pickett, his headquarters being at Petersburg as has been already said, comprised that portion of Virginia and North Carolina lying between James River on the north, and Cape Fear River on the south, extending on the east to the enemy's lines around Suffolk, and to the Blackwater and Chowan Rivers.

This was an extended and important command, but very ineffectively protected as far as the defence on the tide-water and approaches towards Petersburg.

As early as November, 1863, Gen. Pickett having learned from his scouts the intention of the enemy to make an expedition up James River and against Petersburg, at once conveyed this information to the War Department by letter, and begged for a sufficiency of troops to meet such an attack, and urged the immediate necessity of fortifying and obstructing the lower James River. He then went to Richmond in person, and with Gen. Elzey, then commanding the defences of Richmond, had an interview with the Secretaries of War and the Navy, representing again the unprotected condition of his lines, and the almost certainty that the enemy would take speedy advantage of it. In answer to this, it was

nothing, while Pickett was left in Petersburg with merely a handful of men. Gen. Beauregard is in no way responsible for this. He had no control over these troops; and I have understood strongly urged their being hastened to Petersburg to support Pickett.

About May 1, 1864, Gen. Beauregard was assigned the command of the Department of North Carolina, and Gen. Pickett consequently relieved, and ordered to report to the army of Northern Virginia. Gen. Beauregard sent on his chief engineer, Col. D. B. Harris, and inspector-general, Major Giles T. Cooke, but was prevented by sickness from coming on immediately himself.

On May 5th, the attack of which Pickett had so often and long before warned the War Department was made. Gen. Butler, with a force in all of about thirty thousand men, commenced his movement against Petersburg and Richmond, by the south side of James River, which was intended as a co-operation with Gen. Grant's army moving from the Rapidan directly on Richmond from the north. Butler's main force ascended James River in transports, protected by a large fleet of gun-boats, without opposition, and effected a landing and debarkation at City Point and Bermuda Hundreds, the point of the peninsula between the James and Appomattox Rivers. Meantime a division of his cavalry moved from Suffolk directly towards Petersburg and on the lines of the Blackwater. Although this move, for a long time anticipated by us at Petersburg, and, as I have said, frequently reported upon by Gen. Pickett, was, if not a

complete surprise, entirely unprovided for by the government. Gen. Pickett had, all told, at Petersburg, one regiment of infantry, of Clingman's North Carolina Brigade, and a few pieces of artillery. On the Blackwater line there was a portion of Clingman's Brigade and one regiment of infantry (the 29th Virginia) with one battery of artillery and a few cavalry. The very day of Butler's advance, I had gone down from Petersburg to inspect, with Gen. Beauregard's inspector-general, the lines of defence and troops on the Blackwater. At Ivor station on the Norfolk and Petersburg road, I learned that the signals on James River were telegraphing the passage of Butler's fleet and transports. I hurried back in the train to Petersburg, and confirmed the information to Gen. Pickett, already signalled.

In strict conformity to his orders, Gen. Pickett was not then in command at Petersburg; but under the circumstances he would not leave until the arrival of Gen. Beauregard. He instantly made every available disposition for the defence of Petersburg with the mere handful of men at his command. The only infantry regiment was moved out in front of the works on the City Point road, and the artillery placed in the works at that point; I think about twelve pieces in all. The citizens and militia of every sort and condition were trotted out in the direction of the enemy, at least. The small force on the Blackwater was ordered back immediately, and with about six hundred *tolerably* effective men we awaited the approach of Gen. Butler's thousands.

On the next day, May 6th, we received the first instalment of troops from the south. A portion of Haygood's South Carolina Brigade (and only a portion of it) arrived; and although Gen. Pickett was telegraphed to send them directly on to Richmond, he took the responsibility of detaining them at Port Walthall Junction, about six miles on the railroad between Petersburg and Richmond, where they had a pretty severe skirmish with Butler's advance column, and succeeded in keeping him off from the railroad or breaking the connection between Petersburg and Richmond. It was all-important that this connection should be kept open, for the whole of Beauregard's army was still south of Petersburg, and on its way towards the defence of Richmond on the south side. In this we succeeded, and only by the timely intervention of this little gallant force of Haygood. Meanwhile Kautz's Cavalry Division had worked its way around in rear and to the south of Petersburg, and attempted to intercept Beauregard's troops on the Weldon Railroad. This caused some delay in the transportation of these troops, but was no success. The following day a portion of Wise's Virginia Brigade arrived in Petersburg, and were sent out on the line towards City Point. For the first time we began to breathe a little free of immediate apprehension, when the troops from the south were coming slowly in. Three brigades of our own division were dropping into Petersburg as fast as the "snail express" would bring them.

About this time Gen. Beauregard arrived and as-

sumed command, relieving Gen. Pickett. Assured of the immediate safety of Petersburg, Gen. Beauregard moved on with most of his force towards Richmond and Drewry's Bluff, on James River, leaving Gen. Whiting in command at Petersburg.

On May 16th, Gen. Beauregard, with his comparatively small force, attacked Butler on his right and centre, and drove him down towards Bermuda Hundreds with heavy loss. Barton's, Corse's, and Terry's Brigades were handsomely engaged in this action, their loss being considerable. Col. Joseph C. Cabell, of the 38th Virginia, the only field officer of Pickett's Division who came out of the battle of Gettysburg unhurt, was killed here, and also Lieut.-Col. Hambrick, of the 24th Virginia; and Major Robert H. Simpson, of the 17th Virginia, was mortally wounded.

On the 15th, Gen. Whiting, who had been left in Petersburg, received orders from Gen. Bragg, of the War Department in Richmond, to withdraw his whole force from that city, and move by a roundabout road, far in rear of the battle-field of Drewry's Farm, so as to get into the defences of Richmond from the rear. I know this positively, for I was temporarily serving on Gen. Whiting's staff at the time, and the order of march for the next day was issued in conformity to Bragg's directions, and Whiting was much dissatisfied and chagrined at being obliged to abandon Petersburg thus entirely unprotected. But on the afternoon of the 15th, Whiting received an order from Gen. Beauregard, brought

by Col. Logan, countermanding Bragg's order, and directing him to move at daylight directly towards Drewry's and strike Butler on his left, thus co-operating with his own attack. Whiting did cross the Appomattox River, at daylight, and moved some distance on the road towards Drewry's, but for some unaccountable reason fell back upon Petersburg without striking a material blow on Butler's force. Had he pressed on in conformity with Beauregard's order, no doubt the conjoined attack would have resulted in the total destruction or defeat of Butler's army, and we should have had this "Bottle Imp" of Gen. Grant in a much more serious position than being "corked up."

It is not pretended to make any defence of Gen. Whiting's action, or *want* of action, but he subsequently atoned for any weakness in a hero's death; and I do know that on the night before he expressed every desire to carry out Gen. Beauregard's order, and a determination to *fight* it out too.

After their success at Drewry's, our three brigades were joined in Richmond by Hunton's Brigade, and the old division, once more recruited, reported to Gen. Lee, in the army of Northern Virginia, at Hanover Junction, on May 25th, after an absence from that army of more than eight months. Brig.-Gen. Burkett D. Fry had been temporarily assigned to the command of Barton's Brigade, but commanded it for only a short time, being returned to his own brigade. It may be mentioned here, that this brigade was from that time commanded by Col.

William R. Aylett, of the 53d Virginia, until Brig.-Gen. Geo. H. Stewart, of Maryland, was assigned to it, in the autumn of 1864. Of course, when the division made its appearance in the army of Northern Virginia it was immediately "shoved to the front" and opposed to Gen. Grant's army in its attempt to cross the North Anna River. The front it continued to occupy around the whole line of defence between the Pamunkey and Chickahominy, with various heavy and light skirmishes. Hunton's Brigade occupied successfully a most exposed position near its old battle-ground of Gaine's Mill. Here, Capt. Charles F. Linthicum, the adjutant general of this brigade, was killed, and Lieut. John S. Jones, aide-de-camp, was severely wounded. Both of these were gallant and deserving officers, and had served with the brigade since 1862.

Capt. Campbell G. Lawson, of the 15th Virginia, a brave and valuable officer, was also so severely wounded, while commanding the division line of skirmishers near Cold Harbor, that he was rendered unfit for active service during the rest of the war. And thus we faced Gen. Grant and his continual "hammering away" down to Malvern Hills. Here he "fooled" us right smartly with "demonstrations," and quietly slipped across James River.

But we were destined to have another crack at Butler, who had feebly popped his cork for another fizzle at that railroad he *ought* to have destroyed but didn't.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE BERMUDA HUNDREDS LINE RECAPTURED.—GEN. LEE'S CLAY'S HOUSE LETTER.

WHILE Gen. Lee, with his army, had been confronting Gen. Grant on the north side, Gen. Beauregard, with a small force, had been holding Butler in check on the south side of James River. His entrenched line extended from Howlet's house, on James River, to Fort Clifton, on the Appomattox, below Petersburg. There was but a small force in the defences of Petersburg on the south side of the Appomattox. Apprised of Gen. Grant's crossing to the south side of James River below City Point, Gen. Beauregard felt the urgent necessity of abandoning his position, in order to defend Petersburg on the south of the Appomattox, and sent messages to Gen. Lee to that effect. Not being relieved by any portion of Gen. Lee's army in time, he was forced to leave these intrenchments at an early hour of May 16th, and Gen. Butler walked into them without opposition, and succeeded in reaching the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad, which was unprotected. He set to work destroying the track, but had done but little damage to it when he was run off by the advance of Pickett's Division. At daylight, on the morning of the 16th, Hunton's Brigade

was started off in advance from Malvern Hill, and followed by the rest of Longstreet's Corps.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, while this column was moving along the Petersburg turnpike, and about ten miles from Petersburg, Gen. R. H. Anderson, then commanding the corps, and Gen. Pickett, with his staff, who were riding along quietly some quarter of a mile in advance of the column, were ambushed and fired upon by a portion of Butler's troops. Hunton's Brigade was hurried up, and, soon followed by the other brigades, succeeded in driving the enemy back towards Bermuda Hundreds. They made some endeavor to hold the line recently given up by Beauregard, but Pickett's Men were not to be "stopped." It seems that Gen. Lee had not intended this attack to be carried to such an extent, but was very well satisfied with the result. The whole of Beauregard's line was retaken and held by Pickett's Division from that time until nearly the close of the war.

I must insert here Gen. Lee's complimentary notice of this action, from which is extracted the "text" upon which I have ventured to write :

CLAY'S HOUSE, 5½ P. M., 17th June, 1864.

Lieut.-Gen. R. H. ANDERSON, commanding Longstreet's Corps.

GENERAL: I take great pleasure in presenting to you my congratulations upon the conduct of the men of your corps. I believe that they will carry anything they are put against. We tried very hard to stop Pickett's Men

from capturing the breastworks of the enemy, but could'nt do it. I hope his loss has been small.

I am, with respect, your obedient servant,

R. E. LEE, General.

Official: G. M. SORREL, Lieut.-Col., A. A. Gen.

For Major-Gen. G. E. PICKETT, commanding division.

This line of breastworks, important as the main line of defence between Richmond and Petersburg, and opposing any advance of the enemy upon the peninsula of Bermuda Hundreds, was improved and strengthened, and occupied by this division until March, 1864, when it was relieved by Mahone's Division, and sent off to meet Sheridan's cavalry raid upon the upper James River and around Richmond. In this exercise of the legs rather than arms, fruitlessly endeavoring to overtake or intercept Sheridan, the division was occupied until started on the last grand move of the war.

While lying in winter-quarters, in 1864, the division was recruited in strength, principally by conscripts, to something upwards of five thousand effective men ; but owing to various causes, loss in skirmishes, absence from sickness, etc., its strength about the latter part of March, 1865, was little over four thousand.

During a period of the winter, 1864, and spring, 1865, Corse's Brigade was detached on the north side of James River in the trenches near Fort Harrison.

In the autumn, 1864, Brig.-Gen. George H. Stewart, of Maryland, was assigned to the command of the brigade first known as Armistead's and after as Barton's Brigade.

results of that engagement, says that upwards of five thousand prisoners were there captured; thus leaving the inference that the Confederate force at that point was much stronger than it really was. The capture of "over five thousand prisoners" would have included nearly the whole command, "horse, foot, and dragoons;" or, in other words, all the infantry, cavalry, and artillery upon that field, as I shall hereafter show in as correct and liberal an estimate of our force, there isolated and engaged, as from the material in my possession I can now make.

At the same time, Mr. Swinton gives these Confederate troops credit for the most determined valor and resistance to an attack of much superior force, surrounded front, flank, and rear. It is reserved for a Mr. McCabe, who has published a book entitled the "Life and Campaigns of Gen. R. E. Lee" (a work, no doubt, of considerable circulation, upon its *title* alone), although taking his statistics and accounts of battles almost entirely from Mr. Swinton's book, to depart widely from that usually reliable and impartial author in his version of the *conduct* of the Confederate troops at Five Forks.

He says that "over five thousand men threw down their arms and surrendered, while the rest fled westward from Five Forks, utterly demoralized, and hotly pursued by the Federal cavalry until long after nightfall;" and that Gen. Lee indignantly "witnessed this disgraceful conduct of his troops."

It might not be worth while to notice this foolish and

slandrous attack upon these "men of Gettysburg;" upon these veteran soldiers of many battle-fields, whom Gen. Lee himself "delighted to honor," but that this unhappily constructed or "reconstructed" historian pretends to quote and italicise Gen. Lee's own words upon a battle-field, where, unfortunately for the veracity of his biographer, Gen. Lee never was.

This Mr. McCabe has been already sufficiently used up, and, I might say, more than sufficiently *abused* up and down, by more than one respectable review of his book. I do not mean to say anything hard of *him*; but I do, this much, of his volunteer work: That a chronicler of important events should be very certain as to the truth of his (would-be) historical statements—especially when they are made to bear so hardly upon a respectable body of men and brave soldiers. Where he got his false information I do not know; but I *do* know from whom he might readily have obtained a true account of the conduct of the officers and men at Five Forks; from his *cousin*, Capt. Gordon McCabe, adjutant of Col. Willie Pegram, who was present, and fighting gallantly by the side of the noble Pegram when he was killed.

Be sure I do not mean to quote here the whole of this gross slander, both upon Gen. Lee and upon his officers and men. The sooner it be forgotten, if ever seen, the better. For those curious of fable, however, on pages 602 and 603 of "McCabe's Life of Lee" may be found about twenty consecutive lines of utter misstatement of facts. And now, with this preliminary, I will return to

the text. Henceforth it will not be necessary to notice a few discrepancies of time and place which occur in the accounts heretofore published of these final events, but proceed in my unvarnished tale and trust it to be taken for what it may be worth.

On March 29, 1865, the two brigades of Pickett (then bivouacked at Swift Creek), Corse's and Terry's, received orders from Gen. Lee to move to the right of Petersburg. Stewart's Brigade was already in the trenches west of Petersburg, and Hunton's still with Longstreet on the north of James River.

The movement of these brigades was concealed as well as possible from the enemy, although in taking out Stewart's Brigade from the lines, it was impossible to prevent the enemy from observing it from the lookout stations on their lines. Getting beyond Petersburg, these three brigades were transported by the South Side Railroad to Sutherland's station, ten miles west of Petersburg, and thence moved to Sutherland's Tavern, on the Cox Road. Gen. Fitz Lee's Division of cavalry had preceded the infantry, and at this point communicated with Gen. Pickett. During the night Gen. Pickett received orders from Gen. R. H. Anderson, and moved his brigades by a cross road, and over Hatcher's Run, to the extreme right of the Confederate lines, arriving there at daylight on the 30th. It rained heavily all this night of the 29th, and the roads and streams were almost impassable.

About ten o'clock, A. M., Gen. Lee arrived upon the

right of the line, and a considerable *pow-wow* was held among the chiefs. Gen. Heth, I think, proposed to attack the enemy in front with his division, to be supported by Pickett. Finally, however, it was determined by Gen. Lee to make an attack upon the enemy's right flank, moving around by Five Forks towards Dinwiddie Court-House. For this purpose he detached the three brigades of Pickett, and two brigades, Wallace's and Matt. Ransom's, both not equal in numbers to one good brigade, and six rifled pieces of artillery, commanded by Col. Willie Pegram.

A message from Gen. Fitz Lee, received at this time, stated that the enemy's cavalry were in force at Five Forks and had driven in his pickets. He sent in at the same time a captain of Sheridan's cavalry, captured near Five Forks, who, upon examination, gave the information that the whole of the Federal cavalry, amounting to about fifteen thousand, supported by a heavy infantry force, was at or near Dinwiddie Court-House.

I do not think Gen. Lee credited this statement, but he immediately sent orders to Gen. Fitz Lee to take command of the whole of the cavalry; that is, the divisions of Fitz Lee, W. H. F. Lee, and a small sprinkling of Rosser's Division, and "go in" upon the calvary at Five Forks. Gen. Pickett was then pushed on, with his small force of infantry and artillery, to support this movement and take command of the whole force.

The plan of operations was supposed to be this: On the morning of the 31st, Pickett was to press the enemy

upon Dinwiddie Court-House, and as far down upon the front of our line as possible. At the same time Gen. R. H. Anderson was to attack in front, and thus by the double operation to endeavor to break the Federal left. Between the right of our line and Five Forks, the enemy's cavalry were found in strong observation. We had no sooner started than they commenced a lively attack upon our small wagon-train in the rear, and kept up this annoyance to Five Forks. The cavalry in the meantime had a heavy skirmish at that point, but, upon our arrival, two regiments of infantry were thrown out and soon drove the enemy's cavalry off, we occupying Five Forks that night.

On the morning of the 31st, we moved on towards Dinwiddie Court-House. Gen. W. H. F. Lee's cavalry preceded the infantry column on the direct road to a crossing of Chamberlayne's Creek, while Fitz Lee's Division, commanded by Brig.-Gen. Thomas Munford, moved by an intermediate road in the same direction. W. H. F. Lee's Division struck the enemy at a fork of Chamberlayne's Creek, and had quite a brilliant engagement before succeeding in effecting a crossing.* Higher up on the same creek, the infantry, Terry's Brigade in advance, forced a crossing, and from this time, early in the after-

* This was in effect one of the most severe cavalry fights of the war. Gen. W. H. F. Lee was directed to force a crossing at this point, immediately in face of a superior force of the enemy having all the advantage of position, with a deep stream of water in front. His loss was terrible. Out of fifteen hundred mounted men, he had about five hundred put *hors du combat* on the field.

noon, until after dark, we continued to drive the enemy back to Dinwiddie Court-House.

After the brisk fighting was over, Gen. Pickett, having ascertained by his scouts that there really was a heavy infantry support to Sheridan's cavalry at Dinwiddie Court-House, felt it necessary to withdraw his small force, and started back towards Five Forks about two o'clock in the morning of April 1st. He sent a courier at once to Gen. R. E. Lee, who was on the lines about Petersburg, acquainting him of the success of the day, and of his forced determination to withdraw from the front of Dinwiddie Court-House during that night.

We reached Five Forks, and halted there early the next day, without other difficulty than a fatiguing march at night over bad roads. Sheridan did not follow up until morning, and thus we had some few hours' start of him.

While lying at Five Forks, Gen. Pickett received an answer to his despatch to Gen. Lee, in which Gen. Lee, after expressing his regret that Pickett had not been able to hold his advantage at Dinwiddie Court-House, directs him to hold Five Forks at all hazards, and to prevent, if possible, the enemy from striking the South Side Railroad.

Upon the receipt of this peremptory order, Gen. Pickett immediately formed his line of battle upon the White Oak road, at right angles to and across the Ford road, which leads directly across the South Side Railroad, at about two miles distance from Five Forks, and put his

men to throwing up a temporary breastwork. Pine trees were felled, a ditch dug, and the earth thrown up behind the logs.

Much has been said about the "important chain of works protecting Five Forks," and Sheridan driving the Confederates out of two "lines of defence," into their "works at Five Forks." I positively aver that I never saw at, or "protecting" Five Forks, any other works than this shallow ditch, and loose fence of pine logs, hastily thrown up, in about three hours' time. Five Forks was not a point to be protected, except by a very large force of troops, and by positive fighting. Situated in a flat, thickly-wooded country, Five Forks, as its name indicates, is simply a crossing, at nearly right-angles, of two county roads, and the deflection of a third road, bisecting one of those angles. A line of battle, upon the White Oak road, short as four small brigades front must be, can readily be turned on either flank by a larger attacking force.

This was the disposition of Pickett's force: Matt. Ransom's and Wallace's Brigades, acting as one, and numbering less than a thousand, on the left; Stewart's Brigade next on the right, extending to the forks of the roads, and numbering about one thousand; then Corse's Brigade, eleven hundred; and finally, Terry's Brigade, eight hundred strong, supporting Corse, on the right of the line. The six rifled pieces of artillery were placed along this line at wide intervals. Fitz Lee's cavalry was ordered into position on the left flank, and W.

H. F. Lee's on the right; McCausland's and Dearing's Brigades of cavalry, both very small, were all, I believe, of Rosser's Division present, although they did good service, as did Gen. Rosser personally, acting with the rest of the cavalry up to the end of the war. I have no means of ascertaining now exactly the strength of the cavalry present, but I think I am safe in saying that it did not exceed twenty-five hundred men, all told. And this was the comparatively trifling force, say six thousand men, of infantry, cavalry, and artillery included, with which Pickett had to meet the cavalry of Sheridan (numbering in itself about twice as many as Pickett's whole command) with the infantry corps of Warren to back him. I certainly do not *intend* to misstate the strength of the Confederate force in this action; indeed, as regards Pickett's three brigades, I have been liberal, taking their strength even *before* the affair of the 31st, the day before, in which both Corse's and Terry's Brigades met with considerable loss. We had no means of obtaining any correct returns of the casualties, and hence the difficulty of stating exactly the force engaged.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, Sheridan made a heavy demonstration and attack with his cavalry in front, while he threatened also the right flank, but was repelled along the whole line. Meantime, Warren's Corps had swept around to the left flank and rear of the infantry line, driving Fitz Lee's cavalry before them, and attacking both Ransom and Stewart behind their breastworks. These men, although thus taken at disadvantage,

fought nobly. Adopting the language of Mr. Swinton, so different from McCabe's sorry slander, we admit that: "The Confederates were now completely entrapped. Held as in a vice by the cavalry, which enveloped their whole front and right, stung them with a biting fire, and charged at the signal of the musketry of the infantry, they now found a line of battle sweeping down upon their rear. Thus placed they did all that men may. Forming front, both north and south, they met with a desperate valor this double onset."

In lieu of giving my own detailed account of this terrible disaster, I insert here Gen. Pickett's official report,* made after the surrender of the army at Appomattox Court-House, in compliance with a request of Gen. Lee :

HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
April 10, 1865.

GENERAL: Gen. Lee wishes you to make at once a short report of the operations of your command from the time of the recent attack of the enemy near Petersburg to the present. He desires you also to call upon the commanders of the divisions which were assigned to you since the recent operations commenced, for reports embracing their operations between the time of the attack above referred to and the time of their assignment to your command.

*I believe that the rough estimate of the troops in his command, made by him at eight thousand in this report, is much too great; and upon subsequent reflection he is satisfied of it himself. But it is a matter of no serious moment, at best.

He wishes to have these before the army is dispersed that he may have some data upon which to base his own report.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed) W. H. TAYLOR, A. A. G.

Official: LATROBE, A. A. G.

Major-Gen. G. E. PICKETT, commanding, etc.

COLONEL: I have the honor to report that on the 29th of March, a telegram from headquarters A. N. Va. was received at my headquarters, at Swift Creek, ordering me to proceed with two brigades at that point (Corse's and Terry's), to cross the Appomattox and take the cars on the South Side road for Sutherland's Station, Stuart's Brigade, then in position in front of Petersburg, to join me *en route*. Hunton's Brigade was at this time on the north side of the James. Accordingly the column was put in motion, the three brigades reaching Sutherland's about nine, P. M. Shortly afterwards came an order from Lieut.-Gen. Anderson, to come on to the White Oak road and take position on the right of Major-Gen. Bushrod Johnson's Division. This was done, by daybreak, through a drenching rain, the three brigades extending some distance up the road. The commander-in-chief about twelve, M., in the day, ordered me to move on with my three brigades, and two brigades under command of Brig.-Gen. M. Ransom (his own and Wallace's), and a battery of artillery under Col. Pegram, to the Five Forks, where Major-Gen. Fitz Lee was with his division of cav-

alry, and at which point Major-Gens. Wm. H. F. Lee and Rosser were to join him with their divisions. The march was necessarily slow, on account of the continual skirmishing with the enemy's cavalry, both in front and flank. The enemy at one time charged in on the wagon-train, but were driven off by Ransom. In front we had to drive the enemy out of the way nearly the whole distance until we joined Fitz Lee at the Five Forks about sunset. I learned then that part of the ordnance-train had been turned back, it was said by orders from the commander-in-chief. Gen. Ransom had *his* ordnance wagons, and on *these* we had to depend for supplying the whole command in the engagements which followed. I was about to push on towards Dinwiddie Court-House, when, upon consultation with Gen. Fitz Lee (the other cavalry not having joined him, and as it was nearly dark, the men much in need of rest, having been marching nearly continuously for eighteen hours) I determined to *throw out merely* a couple of brigades, on the Court-House road, so as to keep the enemy at a respectable distance during the night. This was done, Corse and Terry advancing some three-quarters of a mile, driving the enemy's cavalry; who, however, being dismounted and armed with the repeating rifle, made quite a stout little fight. It rained throughout the night, and up to about twelve the next day. Gen. Fitz Lee's scouts and guides could not find out exactly the enemy's strength, but, from the prisoners taken up to this time, I knew we had no infantry in our front. We discovered at daylight, that the

enemy were pretty strongly posted in the Court-House road, having quite a good position. The rest of the cavalry having gotten up, about ten A. M., I determined to push on a road still farther to the right, cross the stream higher up with Gen. W. H. F. Lee's and Rosser's cavalry, and with the infantry, leaving Fitz Lee's Division to come up the direct road towards the Court-House, as we advanced on the right. The rain had swollen the streams very much, which was the chief reason for the delay in the cavalry coming up. Gen. W. H. F. Lee, with his division, very gallantly charged over the creek, but the enemy were in too great numbers, and the infantry not being able to cross at that point (the stream not being fordable) they were compelled to draw back. I pushed the infantry across lower down, Terry's Brigade leading, Col. Mayo with the 3d Virginia in advance. This regiment suffered a good deal, but the men gallantly dashed over the creek and swamp, killing and capturing, after a sharp engagement, about a hundred of the enemy. Our whole force then moved on. The enemy, in meanwhile strongly reinforced, made a determined resistance, and it was dark when we arrived within half a mile of the Court-House. W. H. F. Lee's cavalry had again crossed at the same point and Fitz Lee's Division had come up on the left.

This engagement was quite a spirited one, the men and officers behaving most admirably. Our loss was principally confined to W. H. F. Lee's cavalry and Terry's and Corse's Brigades, among them many valuable officers.

The enemy was severely punished ; half an hour more of daylight and we would have gotten to the Court-House. As it was, some prisoners were taken belonging to the 5th Corps (Warren's).

The fact being thus developed that the enemy were reinforcing with infantry, and knowing the whole of Sheridan's and Kautz's cavalry were in our front, induced me to fall back at daylight in the morning to the Five Forks, where I was directed by telegram from the commander-in-chief to *hold*, so as to protect the road to Ford's Depot. This movement was made in perfect order, bringing off all of our wounded and burying all of our dead. The enemy was, however, pressing upon our rear in force. I had all trains parked in rear of Hatcher's Run and would have preferred that position, but that, from the telegram referred to, I supposed the commanding general intended sending up reinforcements. I had, in the meantime, reported by telegram, and informed the general commanding of the state of affairs, that the enemy was trying to get in between the main army and my command, and asking that diversion be made or I would be isolated. This evidently was intended, as Hunton's Brigade did come up to Sutherland's, but not till after dark. The best arrangements were made which the nature of the ground admitted of; W. H. F. Lee's cavalry on the right, then Corse, Terry, Stuart, Ransom and Wallace. Gen. Fitz Lee was ordered to cover the ground between Wallace's left and the creek, with his cavalry, dismounted. The enemy pushed up steadily from the Court-House

and commenced extending to our left. Gen. Ransom moved still further to the left, and I extended Stuart's Brigade so as to cover his ground. He, Gen. Ransom, sent word to me that the cavalry were not in position. Gen. Fitz Lee was again ordered to cover the ground at once, and I supposed it had been done, when, suddenly, the enemy in heavy infantry column appeared on our left front, and the attack which had, up to that time, been confined principally to our front towards the Court-House now became general. Charge after charge of the enemy was repulsed; but they still kept pouring up division after division, and pressing round our left. Gen. Ransom, perceiving this, took his brigade from behind his temporary breastworks and boldly charged the heavy column of the enemy, committing great havoc and temporarily checking their movement. In this he had his horse killed, he falling under him, and his A. A. Gen., the brave, but unfortunate, Capt. Gee, killed. The few cavalry, however, which had gotten into position, gave way, and the enemy came pouring in on Wallace's left, causing his men to give back. Pegram had been mortally wounded, the captain of the battery killed, and many of the men killed and wounded. I succeeded, nevertheless, in getting a sergeant, with men enough for one piece, put in position on the left, and fired some eight rounds into the head of the enemy's column, when the axle broke, disabling the piece. I had also immediately withdrawn Terry's Brigade from its position, and threw them on the left flank, charging over Wallace's men

and forcing them back to their position. Even then, with all the odds against us, we might have held till night, which was fast approaching, but the ammunition was fast giving out. Col. Flowerce's Regiment fought hand to hand with the enemy after their cartridges were expended, but it was of no avail, and, although the enemy's dead lay in heaps, we were obliged to give way, our left being completely turned. Wallace's Brigade *again broke*, though some of the officers in it behaved most gallantly and used their utmost exertions to reform them, but in vain! and everything assumed the appearance of a panic, when, by dint of great personal exertion on the part of my staff, together with the general officers and their staff officers, we compelled a rally and stand on Corse's Brigade, which was still in perfect order, and had repelled, as had W. H. F. Lee's cavalry, every attempt of the enemy against them.

One of the most brilliant cavalry engagements of the war took place on this part of the field, near Mrs. Gilliam's residence. The enemy made a most determined attack in heavy force (cavalry), but were in turn charged by Gen. W. H. F. Lee, completely driving them off the field. This, with the firm stand made by Corse's men, and those that could be rallied at this point, enabled many to escape capture. Thus the shades of the evening closed on the bloody field. Had the cavalry on the left done as well as those on our right, the day would probably have been ours; as it was, it was most stubbornly contested against great odds. The whole of

Sheridan's cavalry joined with Kautz's, the 2d Corps and part of the 6th were attacking us. I learned a few days afterwards, from a general of division in Warren's Corps, that it was nineteen thousand strong, making the enemy's force probably thirty-five thousand, whilst we did not have more than eight thousand engaged. Our loss in killed and wounded was very severe, and a good many were captured. Col. Munford, commanding Gen. Fitz Lee's Division was quite active, and lent great assistance personally. During the evening, a large portion of the command having been assembled on the railroad, I proceeded with them towards Exeter Mills, intending to cross the Appomattox at that point, and rejoin the main army. Whilst at that point I received orders, by a staff-officer, to report to Lieut.-Gen. R. H. Anderson at Sutherland's. At daylight on the following morning, I started to comply with the order, but had not proceeded far when I found the road strewn with stragglers without arms, from Wilcox's and Heth's Divisions, who informed me the lines in front of Petersburg had been forced. I concluded immediately to follow up the river and join Gen. Anderson, who, I learned, had gone in that direction, striking for Amelia Court-House. I omitted to mention that most of Ransom's Brigade had crossed the river at Exeter Mills. I reported to Gen. Anderson on same day, and that night Hunton's Brigade reported. They had also been in a heavy fight and had suffered severely, though they had acted with their usual good conduct and let the enemy know who they were.

From this point up to the battle of Sailor's Run (a report of which I forwarded through Gen. Anderson), there is nothing of any moment to relate except occasional skirmishing and continual marching night and day, with scarcely any rations. The second day after the battle referred to, not being able to find Gen. Anderson's headquarters, I reported to Lieut.-Gen. Longstreet, and continued to receive orders from him until the army was paroled and dispersed. Early on the morning of the surrender, when the enemy made an advance from towards Appomattox Court-House, Lieut.-Gen. Longstreet sent to Gen. Heth, a staff-officer (Capt. Dunn) with orders for him to move up at once with his division. I had the remnant of my division, some eight hundred aggregate (about sixty armed), drawn up on Heth's left, and informed Capt. Dunn of the fact, and that we would move with Heth; this he authorized, and afterwards informed me of Gen. Longstreet's approval. The order to advance was, however, shortly afterwards countermanded. I mention this fact merely to show that, even at the last, what few men of the old Virginia division were left, were willing and ready to do their utmost to maintain the name they had so nobly won, for heroism during four years of a bloody and terrible war, in which Virginia's sons had poured out (as a sacrifice for a liberty unfortunately not to be gained) the best blood of the proud old State.

It is needless in this, my last report of the Virginia division, to recall to the commander-in-chief, the trials,

hardships, and battles through which they have passed. Baptized in war at Bull Run and the first Manassas, under Lieut.-Gen. Longstreet's instruction, they continued afterwards to follow their lessons first taught them, on their various marches; in the lines about Yorktown; at the glorious battle of Williamsburg, when they, with Wilcox's Alabama Brigade, withstood the advance of the whole of McClellan's Grand Army, and absolutely drove them back; at the Seven Pines, when they were so highly complimented by Gen. Jos. E. Johnston; and at Gainey's Mill, Frazer's Farm, Second Manassas, Boonsborough, Sharpsburg, Gettysburg, and the engagements about the lines in front of Bermuda Hundreds, Fort Harrison, etc., etc., which came under the personal observation of the commander-in-chief. The written and verbal acknowledgments of their worth from him, have been gratefully appreciated by them.

There having been no brigade or regimental reports handed in, it is impossible to state the casualties which have occurred on the last campaign. I must not conclude without mentioning the gallantry and untiring zeal in the cause exhibited by the brigade commanders, Gens. Corse, Hunton, Terry, and Stewart, and their valuable staff-officers, some of whom were killed and others wounded (Gen. Terry's A. D. C., Lieut. Harris was killed, and Capt. Fitzhugh, Gen. Hunton's A. A. G., wounded, and Capt. Bryant, Gen. Terry's A. A. G., wounded); and of the officers of my staff, Majors Pickett and Harrison, A. and Ins. Gens.; Major Horace Jones, com. of

sub. ; Major R. Taylor Scott, Q. M. ; Chief Surgeon M. M. Lewis ; Capts. Baird, Symington, and Bright, A. D. C.'s ; Capt. Cochran, ord. officer. In connection with this department (ordnance) I must not forget to mention the name, for ability and efficiency, of Capt. S. G. Leitch, who had charge of it for three years, in fact up to a short time before the campaign commenced.

To the commanding officers of regiments my thanks and those of our State are due for their maintenance of discipline in their regiments, their continual and unswerving confidence in the cause, and their personal activity on the many battle-fields, in leading on their men to victory, or sustaining them under their various hardships. Such names as those of Montague, Phillips, Herbert, Carrington, Greene, Mayo, the Berkeleys, Floweree, White, Gantt, Preston, etc., should not be forgotten in Virginia's history.

I am, colonel,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed) G. E. PICKETT, Major-Gen. Commd'g.

Col. W. H. TAYLOR, A. A. G., A. N. Va.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE LAST GASP AT SAILOR'S CREEK.

AFTER the defeat of Pickett's command at Five Forks, the enemy did not advance immediately upon the Ford road, which leads directly in rear of their position, crossing Hatcher's Run about three-quarters of a mile from Five Forks, and on to the South Side Railroad. Hunton's Brigade, which had been heavily engaged on the 31st, on the right of the main line, had been sent to Pickett's assistance, and arrived the evening of April 1st, just in rear of the battle-field, and held its position there undisturbed until the next morning. The morning of April 2d, Gen. R. H. Anderson came up with several brigades of Bushrod Johnson's Division. I had collected about two hundred and fifty of the scattered remnant of Pickett's command at the railroad crossing, and reported to Gen. Anderson.

Nothing was then known of Pickett's fate; whether he or any of his command had escaped in the rout at Five Forks, except the few who were present.

Very soon, however, Gen. Anderson received a dispatch from Gen. Pickett, saying that he was at Exeter Mills, on the Appomattox River, with about eight hundred of his command, and would rejoin the army that day. We moved on then towards Amelia Court-House,

skirmishing continually with the enemy, who followed in our rear, and reached Deep Creek that night, where we were joined by Gen. Pickett with the remnant of the division saved from Five Forks. With Hunton's Brigade, which numbered about nine hundred, we had a division strength of twenty-two hundred. This would make our division loss at Five Forks about sixteen hundred.

On the evening of the 3d, we received the disastrous intelligence of the evacuation of Richmond and its partial destruction by fire. It was impossible to keep this sad news from the men; and the despondence it created was at once manifest, so many of them had homes and families in that city, with all of the little remaining property they had in the world there, that they looked upon the loss of the Confederate capital as the last hope of success destroyed. And so it was truly. Nevertheless I dare to affirm here, that these devoted men still continued to press on in sullen determination, obeying the orders of their commanders, and following, if not blindly, yet resolutely, the will of their honored chieftain. I know it has been said that Gen. Lee in his retreat to Appomattox Court-House was deserted wholesale by his men, and more especially by the Virginia troops, who were nearer their homes, and consequently could reach them with little difficulty. But this is an unjust accusation, and comes chiefly from the mouths of non-combatants and recreant fellow-citizens who had shirked all active duty during the war. I do not deny that there were many stragglers, and men who fell down by the

wayside exhausted. These men were obliged to seek food and shelter wherever they could get it.

Having no supplies in the commissariat of the army, they wandered from the line of march in search of a piece of bread even, to satisfy the cravings of actual starvation. These applications, so generally made to the farm-houses throughout the country, created the impression that they were deserters. It may be true that the whole army was fast being demoralized, by hopeless struggling against an overwhelming enemy, by constant night and day marches, and by want of ordinary subsistence ; but I do know the fact, that, with reference to the remnant of my own division, we carried nearly as many men into the last fight at Sailor's Creek as we had left to us from Five Forks, and that those men behaved as well on that last battle-field as they had ever done in their first flush of glory, or under the better fortunes of an earlier day. The position of inspector-general on a battle-field enables him to judge, at least as well as any other officer, of the conduct of the troops engaged. At Sailor's Creek, the exigencies of the time required me to perform the duties of inspector, aide-de-camp, or whatever was asked of me by the general, who was very short of staff, and I declare here that I have never seen on a battle-field less straggling or disposition in the troops to fall back.

It was the decimated few of a noble command who hung on to the last ; who went up to heaven, or fell into the hands of their victors, in a final blaze of glory.

I will not attempt to describe the sufferings of this march to Amelia Court-House, and thence to Sailor's Creek; when for forty-eight hours the man or officer who had a handful of parched corn in his pocket was fortunate.

On the morning of the 6th, Sailor's Creek was reached, and a halt in line of battle was made for several hours. Sheridan, the inevitable, was in front of us with his thousands of cavalry, making his usual parade and demonstrations to delay us until his infantry friends could come up. Meanwhile we were pressing on our artillery and wagon-trains to get across the Appomattox River at Farmville. Mahone's Division was on our right, and Ewell's command on our left. Mahone received orders to move on, but we had orders to stand still. Thus when Mahone did move there was a gap left in the line, increasing as he got further and further away. Gen. Hunton, who was on the right of our division, notified Gen. Pickett of this move, and Gen. Pickett sent to Gen. Anderson, asking permission to move on after Mahone. But Gen. Anderson had been directed to hold on in connection with Ewell's command. Thus we delayed; and while we were doing so, Huger's battalion of artillery, in attempting to cross the gap between us and Mahone, now more than a mile in advance, was attacked and bodily "gobbled up" by the enterprising Sheridan. Gen. Pickett couldn't stand this sort of freebooting, so he pushed his division across Sailor's Creek, and let Gen. Sheridan have the benefit of a charge of two of our

brigades, followed speedily by the other two. This was rather more than the *reiters* wanted. It looked like another taste of Dinwiddie Court-House. So they ran back again some half mile, leaving one or two of Huger's guns behind them. Col. Frank Huger himself was carried off; but his adjutant, Grattan, saved himself (and a gun) on the back of one of the artillery horses. We formed line of battle across an open field, and held it for several hours against the repeated charges of Sheridan's dismounted cavalry. We were now in a completely isolated position, with both flanks open to the enemy, until Wise's Brigade came up on our left and covered that flank. About three o'clock the long-looked for succor came to Gen. Sheridan. Both cavalry and infantry began to work around to the right, and hem us completely in. The "toils were set," and the "stag of ten" was to die at bay. Finding that we could not move a peg on our line of march, Gen. Anderson at last gave the order to Pickett to draw off his brigades to the rear and try to cut his way out in any manner he could. Wise's Brigade was deployed in rear of our line of battle to assist the movement. As soon as this was perceived by the enemy, a charge was made on every side, and the division, enveloped by overwhelming numbers, though still fighting to the last, was forced to yield. Many of the men broke their guns before submitting stubbornly to inevitable fate. Gens. Corse and Hunton were taken prisoners with their brigades; Gens. Stewart and Terry succeeded in getting off from the field. Gen. Pickett,

Surgeon M. M. Lewis, medical director of the division, who was with us all day upon the field, and myself would have been certainly captured but for a fortunate circumstance. A squadron or more of cavalry were riding directly down upon us, at about one hundred yards distance, when we succeeded in rallying a mere squad of men, who delivered a last volley in the faces of these horsemen, which checked them for a moment, and we escaped by the speed of our horses.

Thus ended the military career of Pickett's Division. But few escaped this last disaster at Sailor's Creek, and these broken down, nearly famished, and mostly without arms. To follow them in their misfortunes, whether as prisoners of war, or to the surrender, at Appomattox Court-House, of the few remaining to witness that last humiliation, would be useless.

Thousands have gone to their eternal home in imperishable glory. Others were spared to shed bitter tears over the loss of a sacred cause for which they had toiled, suffered privations, and poured out their blood, to return to the peaceful avocations of civilized life, after four years of excitement and strife. That they have become good citizens of a common country, who will doubt? Not the men who have met them in arms. The carping politician alone can distrust the brave soldier who has perilled and lost all in defence of a cause he believes just.

To me, this simple narrative has been a "labor of love," which I hope may prove acceptable to those to whom it is dedicated.

Associated with the division from its formation to its last day, I felt that this tribute was due, and that I might presume to undertake the offering of it.

Sensible as I am that the subject might have been far better presented in more able hands, I yet console myself in the belief that it has been, at least, plainly and fairly set out. Writing almost entirely from personal recollections, this little work may be open to many criticisms. In its confined scope it may have neglected to do justice to some especial merit ; but I am conscious of endeavoring to avoid giving offence to any one, as also of endeavoring to avoid the too frequent use of the personal pronoun. I hope to have succeeded better in the former than in the latter. If not, a humble apology is all I can give for either offence. There may be, and doubtless are, omissions of some few names of prominent officers, and errors in the exact grade of those officers, as I have been unable, in some instances, to obtain this desired information.

Many acts of personal gallantry have come under my own observation, and been detailed to me by other officers, but I have purposely abstained from mentioning these especially, rather than draw any invidious distinction where all so bravely performed their *devoir*.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE 38TH BATTALION VIRGINIA ARTILLERY.

CLOSELY associated with Pickett's Men throughout the greater part of the war, were four batteries of field artillery, which deserve to occupy an important place in their record.

When these two arms of the service are frequently engaged with the enemy together, there arises a sort of fraternity and confidence of mutual support which cannot exist where troops are only casually thrown in contact; when proved equally worthy, they come to rely upon one another in any emergency. This may be a good, or bad, general principle, but it is incontestably a fact. The officers may act independently of it, but from the men this feeling cannot be taken.

Upon the formation of Pickett's Division, and about the time of the battle of Fredericksburg, these four batteries were assigned to the division: Dearing's (formerly Latham's), Stribling's, Caskie's, and Macon's. Soon afterwards they were organized into a battalion, and the command given to Major James Dearing. Capt. Blount then succeeded Dearing in the command of his battery.

This battalion was always one of the very best in the service, in the quality of its men and officers, in its armament and equipment. It followed the fortunes of the

division through the Suffolk campaign, Gettysburg, Newbern, and Plymouth, and was only detached, during the summer of 1864, much to the regret of the officers and men on both sides. Major Dearing was promoted to colonel, and subsequently to brigadier-general of cavalry. He was killed, while gallantly leading his brigade, in one of the last engagements of the war. No more brilliant, dashing officer ever lived. He was brave and generous to a fault; and had endeared himself to every one with whom he was associated.

A separate and brief history of these batteries will form no ungrateful appendix to this work.

RICHMOND FAYETTE ARTILLERY.

This battery, which served so creditably throughout the war, was organized May 29, 1824, and, in compliment to the Marquis de La Fayette, who was then on a visit to the city of Richmond, was named after him. He presented to the company two brass six-pounders, which he had brought to this country during the Revolutionary war. The first captain of the company was Col. John Rutherford. At the breaking out of the war in 1861, the officers of this battery were: Capt., Henry Coalter Cabell; First Lieut., Miles C. Macon; Jr. First Lieut., William I. Clopton; Second Lieut., Matthew P. Taylor.

The battery first appeared in service in what was facetiously termed the "Pawnee War," the occasion upon which the whole city of Richmond was thrown

into great excitement at the anticipated approach up James River of the United States ship *Pawnee*, April 19, 1861. The *Pawnee* did *not* come, however, and the services of the battery were not required. It was regularly mustered into service April 25, 1861, one hundred and sixty strong, rank and file. It was then sent to the Peninsula to the command of Col. J. B. Magruder. In April, 1862, on the lines at Yorktown, the battery was first under fire. The battle of Williamsburg, May 5, 1862, was opened by the guns of this battery, it holding Fort Magruder the whole of that day, from daybreak. The battery participated in the battles of Gaine's Mill, Frazer's Farm, and Malvern Hills; was on the first Maryland campaign, taking part at the fight of Crampton's Gap and battle of Sharpsburg; was at and engaged in the battle of Fredericksburg, December, 1862, and in front of Suffolk in two affairs in April, 1863; next engaged in *third* day's battle of Gettysburg, July 3, 1863; was engaged with Gen. Pickett's column in advance upon Newbern, N. C.; at Bachelor's Creek and Beech Grove, February, 1864, and at Plymouth, N. C., in its capture by Gen. Hoke, in the same month; came up from North Carolina with Gen. Beauregard to Drewry's Bluff, and participated in the affairs of May 14th and 15th, and in the battle of Drewry's Farm, May 16, 1864; moved to Cold Harbor and occupied position on Cold Harbor road, supported by Colquitt's Georgia Brigade, June 1st, and during Grant's general assault on the lines, June 3, 1864; held position in the lines in front of

Petersburg, about one half to the left of the "Crater," from June 15 to September 6, 1864; engaged in cannonade and assault upon Fort Harrison in front of Richmond, September 29, 1864; was in fight at Burgess Mills, October 27, 1864; and returned to old position in front of Petersburg, November 6, 1864, where it remained until the retreat of the army, April 2, 1865. During this time the officers and cannoncers were engaged in the assault on Fort Steadman, and a detachment of it manned the Archer House Battery on the north side of Appomattox River. When the enemy carried Rives' salient, April 2, 1865, this battery was placed in a redoubt on the second line, and held it during the remainder of the day, without support.

The battery held the rear of Gordon's Corps in the retreat from Petersburg to Appomattox Court-House; was attacked by Sheridan's cavalry at Appomattox Station, and cut off from the main army; forced its way through to Lynchburg, where it disbanded after the surrender of Gen. Lee's army. In its last action, May 8, 1865, Capt. Miles C. Macon, commanding the battery, was killed, while gallantly performing his duty. After the promotion of Capt. Cabell, who became colonel of artillery, the officers of the battery were: Capt., Miles C. Macon; First Lieuts., William J. Clopton (promoted to captaincy), W. W. Jones, Ben. Robinson, and Peyton Johnston, Jr. (who was killed in action at Cold Harbor, June 1, 1864), a gallant and beautiful boy; and Second Lieut., Robert I. Fleming, who was *promoted* from the

ranks for gallantry and meritorious conduct. Lieut. Lewis Booker, of Caskie's Battery, served with this battery for some months. During the war this battery lost *thirty-seven men*, "killed in action." When all were brave, distinction would be invidious, their commanding officer having said at the end of the war, "that he had never seen but one coward in his battery, and *he* deserted."

This battery was known through the greater part of the war as Macon's Battery, was attached to Pickett's Division soon after the organization of the division, and remained with it until some time in 1864.

THE HAMPDEN ARTILLERY,

Better known in the service as "CASKIE'S BATTERY," was organized in the city of Richmond, Va., in the spring of 1861, and mustered into the service of the State of Virginia, May 11th, of that year, with the following officers: Capt., Lawrence S. Marye; First Lieut., James Pleasants; Jr. First Lieut., David S. Watson, M.D.; Second Lieut., Alfred R. Courtney.

Lieut. Courtney accepting the captaincy of another company, newly formed, Sergeant William H. Caskie was elected to fill the vacancy, and commissioned July 4, 1861.

About the 20th of that month, the company was ordered from the camp of instruction to report to Gen. W. W. Loring, commanding forces in south-western Vir-

ginia, in whose command they remained, until Gen. "Stonewall" Jackson was assigned to the command of Loring's forces.

It first participated in the engagement at McDowell's, and then, moving into the valley of Virginia, took part in the battle of Kernstown, sometimes called First Battle of Winchester. This was a desperate and bloody fight, where twenty-three hundred Confederate troops, contesting every foot of ground with severe loss, were finally compelled to retire before about eighteen thousand Federal troops, commanded by Gen Shields.

On the day after this fight the battery was ordered on detached service with that "hero of the valley," Col. Turner Ashby, with whom it served until the death of that gallant cavalier.

The battery then rejoined its old brigade in Jackson's Corps. Lieut. David S. Watson having been appointed surgeon of Gen. Beverly Robertson's Cavalry Brigade, Sergeant George Baughman was elected second lieutenant. Having now been in service a year, the battery was reorganized with the following officers: Capt., William H. Caskie; First Lieut., Theodore C. Duvall; Second Lieut., George L. Thomas.

Soon after, Lieut. Thomas died at his home, in Hanover County, Va., of fever contracted in the army; and Lieut. Duvall was relieved from duty with the battery, and assigned to the cavalry.

At the reorganization of the army of Northern Virginia, Lieuts. J. E. Sullivan and Thomas B. McCurdy,

together with all the enlisted men of the Thomas Artillery were ordered to report for duty to Capt. Caskie, to fill up his battery, and subsequently First Lieuts. Samuel Chapman and Lewis Booker became attached to the battery. Lieut. Chapman was offered and accepted the adjutancy of Mosby's Battalion of partizan rangers, and thus the battery lost a most excellent and popular officer. This battery was engaged with distinction in the affairs of Second Winchester (where Gen. Banks' forces were routed), Newtown, Front Royal, Cross Keys, Port Republic, Slaughter's Mountain, First Fredericksburg, Second Manassas, Frazer's Farm, White Oak Swamp, Malvern Hill, and Cold Harbor.

In March, 1863, the battery was assigned to Pickett's Division, and incorporated into Dearing's 38th Virginia Battalion. It was with Pickett's Division at the celebrated charge at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863, and, in the advance upon Newbern, opened upon the crossing at Bachelor's Creek, and actually led the charge upon the enemy in front of Newbern, the battery horses at a hand gallop. Capt. Caskie, having had his horse badly wounded, led his battery for some distance on foot, musket in hand, and shooting at the enemy every chance he got. Gen. Pickett presented him with a captured horse on the field of battle to replace his wounded animal. This unusual activity of a battery, to say nothing of the personal gallantry of its commander, coming under my own eye, deserves especial notice; by no means, however, to the disparagement of any other battery there engaged. I have

seen all the batteries of this 38th Battalion engaged upon many a field, and could never draw unfavorable distinction between them.

The battery was at the capture of Plymouth, N. C., and in the trenches in front of Petersburg, near the celebrated "Crater," during 1864, and remained there until the retreat of the army from that place in April, 1865.

In April, 1864, Capt. Caskie was promoted, and the command of the battery fell to Capt. I. E. Sullivan, a distinguished officer, who maintained its good repute up to the surrender of the army of Northern Virginia.

THE FAUQUIER ARTILLERY.

This battery, more commonly known as "STRIBLING'S BATTERY," was recruited in Fauquier County, Va., in September, 1861. Mustered into service under the following officers: Capt., Robert M. Stribling; First Lieut., James H. Kidwell; Second Lieut., Wm. N. Green; Third Lieut., Wm. C. Marshall.

In the spring of 1862 was attached to Brig.-Gen. Richard H. Anderson's South Carolina Brigade, and moved with that command to the Peninsula, occupying position in the lines at Winn's Mill, where it remained until the army was withdrawn. Moving with the rear of the army, it was engaged in the battle of Williamsburg; occupying positions on the right, left, and front of Fort Magruder, from one o'clock, P. M., until after dark. The battery was again engaged at the battle of

Seven Pines, going into action with Kemper's Virginia Brigade, and holding position with two of its guns about two hundred yards in front of the captured lines of the enemy, kept up a fire upon their artillery and infantry, until sundown, May 31, 1862.

This battery relieved Carter's and Dearing's Batteries upon the field, where they had been terribly crippled by the fire of the enemy during the earlier part of the action. It was next with R. H. Anderson's Brigade at Frazer's Farm, but not put into action.

Attached to Toomb's Brigade, at Malvern Hill, August 5, 1862, it had a very brilliant engagement with the enemy, supported by the 17th and 8th Georgia Infantry. It sustained an attack of cavalry, then maintained a protracted artillery duel, in open field, without any protection whatever, against two batteries of the enemy, with success; and finally repulsed another charge of cavalry, at Turkey Island. In this day's action, the enemy had three divisions of infantry on the field, commanded by Gen. Hooker, and the assistance of a gun-boat in James River, firing heavy shells into the battery and troops supporting it, during the whole day.

This action was dignified in the Northern report of it as "McClellan's grand reconnoissance, in force," previously to his finally withdrawing from the attack upon Richmond. Although attracting no particular notice upon the Confederate side, much noise was made over it on the Federal. Gen. Hooker was publicly complimented on the field by Gen. McClellan; and particular mention

made in the Northern reports of the precision and effect of the fire of Stribling's Battery.

Is is due to Lieuts. Marshall and Carroll to say that they had the direction of the guns.

The battery was next engaged in conjunction with Squire's Battery, Washington Artillery Battalion, of New Orleans, and Chapman's Battery, all under command of Col. Jack Garnett, at the railroad bridge across the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg.

This was a severe artillery duel lasting for several hours, and with much loss on both sides, in which the enemy's batteries were driven across the river. The battery was afterwards attached to Gen. J. E. B. Stuart's Cavalry at Manassas Plains; and then ordered to support the charge of Jenkins' Brigade upon Chinn's Hill. Advancing with the line of infantry, the battery took position on the right flank, enfilading the position of the enemy, and by its continued heavy fire, throwing them into utter confusion. Then with Rogers' and Eschelman's Batteries, all under command of Col. Rosser, advancing *in front of the infantry*, and supporting a charge of our cavalry, still further on the right, the enemy were completely routed. This battery continued with Jenkins' Brigade until the army reached Leesburg, Va., when, having lost many men and horses in its previous engagements, it was ordered to Winchester, to recruit and refit, and did not rejoin the army until December 1, 1862, at Fredericksburg. Rogers' Battery had then been consolidated with it, and Lieut. I. Milton

Rogers added to the command. This consolidation fully recruited and equipped Stribling's Battery. At this reorganization, Wm. C. Marshall was elected first lieutenant, and Gray Carroll and T. Marshall Archer, second lieutenants.

The battery was then assigned to Dearing's 38th Virginia Battalion of artillery, and was not engaged again until in front of Suffolk, Va., where it accompanied Gen. Longstreet's expedition in the spring of 1863.

Major-Gen. French had command of the whole of the artillery on this expedition. By order of Major Shoemaker, his chief of artillery, Stribling's Battery was put in position in an old earthwork on the Nansemond River, from which point the channel of the river was well commanded. The day following the night in which the guns were placed in position, two gun-boats of the enemy attempted to run by. One of them upon which the fire of the battery was directed, was ploughed through from stem to stern, and the pilot-house and pilot shot away. This boat drifted out of range and then sunk. From that time an incessant fire was kept up upon the battery from the enemy's gun-boats above and below, and from land batteries on the opposite side of the river, whose banks were lined with sharp-shooters, rendering it impossible for our men to move about, or stand up at the guns. No boat, however, again attempted to pass the battery.

On the morning of the fourth day after the battery took position, three regiments of infantry and marines, picked troops of the enemy, under a heavy fire from their

gun-boats and batteries, were landed from the boats above the earthwork, deployed in line and made an attack upon the rear of the work. There were only two small companies of the 44th Alabama Infantry with the battery in the work, which was entirely open in rear. Three successive charges of this force of the enemy were repulsed; but a detachment finally succeeded in creeping down the river bank, and burst over the little parapet on the river front. It was impossible to resist this double attack in front and rear, and the work was captured, with all the men and officers in it. The loss was five splendid guns: three brass Napoleons, and two twenty-four-pounder brass howitzers, all of which had been captured from the enemy. The battery-horses, drivers, and supernumeraries, under charge of Lieut. Carroll, were at camp in the rear and thus escaped capture. These men were immediately armed with rifles, and sent to the left to protect our foraging parties.

After Capt. Stribling and his officers, thus captured, had been exchanged, the battery was again organized and equipped at Richmond, and supplied with six (Richmond-made) Napoleon guns. The battery was next engaged at Gettysburg, and participated in the tremendous cannonade which preceded the charge of Pickett's Division. On the day following, July 4, 1863, the battery opened fire at different times upon the enemy, who showed no disposition, however, to advance.

The battery was next engaged at Newbern, N. C., and participated in the capture of the block-house and

redoubt at Beech Grove, which was surrendered, with two pieces of artillery, completely equipped, and all the men and officers, together with a considerable force of infantry.

In the spring of 1864, Capt. Stribling was promoted major, and Lieut. Marshall succeeded him as captain, in command of this battery.

The battery then participated in the capture of Plymouth, N. C., and charged to the moat of the redoubt below the town, throwing canister into the fort. When this redoubt was taken the men of the battery served the captured guns upon the enemy.

The battery was next engaged in front of Bermuda Hundreds, on the evening of May 18, 1864, assisting in the repulse of the enemy. In this action Capt. Marshall was severely wounded.

The battery, under command of Lieut. Carroll, next moved with Hoke's Division to Cold Harbor, where it was heavily engaged with the enemy in their repeated attacks, and frequently at such short range that many of the enemy fell at the very muzzle of the guns. The battery was afterwards hurried to Petersburg, where, with the rest of the battalion, the 38th Virginia, under command of Major Read, they bore the brunt of the attacks upon the lines about Hare's House, previous to the arrival of the main force of the army of Northern Virginia. It was then placed in Colquitt's salient, opposite Hare's Hill, and remained there under constant fire of the enemy's sharp-shooters, artillery, and mortars,

until the final evacuation of those lines, April 1, 1865, during which time the battery lost many gallant soldiers.

In November, 1864, Major Stribling was ordered to the command of the 38th Battalion, up to this time commanded by Major J. P. Read, who had succeeded Major Dearing, upon the promotion of that distinguished officer.

About the middle of March, 1865, under orders from Lieut.-Gen. Gordon, Major Stribling, with a select detachment from each battery of the battalion, under command of Lieut. Rogers of Marshall's Battery, Lieut. McCurdy of Sullivan's Battery, and Lieut. Fleming of Macon's Battery, charged in rear of the line of infantry skirmishers upon Hare's Hill, captured the enemy's guns in position, and turned them upon their retreat. These captured guns were served gallantly by the detachment until Gen. Gordon ordered them to withdraw.

Capt. Marshall, with three guns of his battery, was on the extreme left of the lines at the time of the general attack of the enemy, March 31, 1865, and was thereafter almost constantly engaged in covering that portion of the rear of the army in its retreat to Amelia Court-House, and, in spite of all difficulties, succeeded in bringing off all of his guns safely. In the action at Sailor's Creek several of the guns were lost.

At Appomattox Court-House, the enemy struck our column of retreat just in rear of Stribling's Battalion, cutting it off from the body of the army.

On Sunday, April 9th, the battalion pushed on to

Lynchburg and there destroyed the guns remaining to it, and disbanded the men.

BLOUNT'S BATTERY.

The company, first known as Latham's, and then as Dearing's Battery, became, upon the promotion of Capt. James Dearing to his majority and chief of artillery of Pickett's Division, Blount's; taking its name, as was usual in the service, from its commanding officer, Capt. J. R. Blount. I have been unable, after much effort, to obtain a detailed account of the original organization of this company.

As far as I can learn, it was recruited in and around the city of Lynchburg, Va., in the early part of 1861, and mustered into service with these officers: Capt., H. Gray Latham; Lieuts., W. I. Fowlkes, — Davison, and F. Clarke Leftwich.

It was first in action at the battle of Manassas, July 21, 1861, where it did valuable service. Two of its guns, under command of Capt. Latham and Lieut. Fowlkes, were placed in position at Lewis's Ford, and opened on the enemy (Schenk's Brigade), who had commenced firing upon our infantry from the wood beyond the ford. This position they maintained from seven o'clock in the morning, until two o'clock, P. M., and are represented as the first guns fired upon the enemy. They then changed position to a hill in rear of the ford, where they were joined by the other two guns of the battery, in charge of

Lieuts. Davison and Leftwich, which had been held on a hill near the turnpike road, commanding the stone bridge, on which point the enemy opened fire at six o'clock, A. M. The enemy not approaching within canister range, they were ordered to change position to a point near the Pittsylvania House, about half a mile north of the stone bridge. Here, and on the Sudley road, they did much execution upon the enemy, holding him in check for more than an hour and until their ammunition was exhausted. This section then withdrew and joined its other section, and the four guns continued together to fire upon the enemy upon their approach to the stone bridge, and upon their retreat until the close of the fight.

In 1862, the battery was actively engaged upon the Peninsula, in the retreat from Yorktown; and at Seven Pines and Gaine's Mill, attached to Pickett's Brigade, and then, under command of Capt. Dearing, gained further distinguished honors. Its losses, in horses and men, in these engagements were immense.

The battery remained attached to Pickett's Brigade until December, 1862, when it was incorporated into Dearing's Battalion, the 38th Virginia, and attached to Pickett's Division, with which it served through the expedition to Suffolk, and at Gettysburg in 1863, and in the expedition against Newbern and Plymouth, N. C., in 1864. It was engaged with its battalion in all of the engagements heretofore cited, Drewry's Farm, Cold Harbor, and around the city of Petersburg in 1864 and

1865, under the command of Capt. J. R. Blount, who succeeded Major Dearing in command.

It was not captured or surrendered at Appomattox Court-House, with the army of Northern Virginia, but pushed its way through with its battalion to Lynchburg, the city of its birth and formation, where it was disbanded, and its guns destroyed, in April, 1865. Second to no battery in the service, it kept up its high reputation under its several commanders, during the whole war.

to establish by mutual consent the various lines of battle and situation of troops in this important historical event. No matter what the ulterior object of this association, or of any other association connected with it, the ostensible object was sufficiently accomplished, in fixing accurately the positions of the different commands of the Federal army, by examination of the field and consultations of those officers present, who participated in the engagements. There was no general officer of the late Confederate army there, and consequently no effort made to establish the positions of those troops by any landmarks. Whether it be desirable that these landmarks of an internecine war should be perpetuated, or obliterated, I do not pretend to discuss; but am satisfied, from what I saw, that much good might have been effected in a political point of view, if there *had* been a number of prominent Confederate officers present at this meeting. The spirit of reconciliation evinced was certainly commendable on the one side, and I believe would have been responded to on the other. Several Confederate generals had expressed a disposition and intention to attend, but were prevented by various causes; and the press throughout the country attempted to throw ridicule upon the meeting, as if gotten up for purposes of speculation. This by way of introduction.

About June 29, 1863, Gen. Lee's army was thus placed in Pennsylvania: Ewell's Corps, composed of Early's, Edward Johnston's, and Rode's Divisions, was in the neighborhood of Carlisle and York, Longstreet's Corps,

composed of Pickett's, McLaw's, and Hood's Divisions, and A. P. Hill's Corps, consisting of Richard H. Anderson's, Pender's, and Heth's Divisions, were at and about Chambersburg; Gen. Lee with them.

From these points the whole army was moved on that day towards Gettysburg, with the exception of Pickett's Division, which was left at Chambersburg until the morning of July 2d. Hill's Corps, in advance, followed by the other two divisions of Longstreet, moved on the road from Chambersburg to Gettysburg. From want of information, it is said through his cavalry failing to keep up communication with him, Gen. Lee was not advised of the position or exact movements of the enemy; nor, on the other hand, was the Federal commander any more clear as to the movements or intentions of Lee; so that the advance of the two armies may be said to have literally stumbled upon each other at Gettysburg. It is not believed that it was the design of either commander to have fought a battle at that point, but the positions of their armies rendered it a necessary consequence. Heth's Division, the advance of Hill's Corps, reached the neighborhood of Gettysburg on the 30th, when Gen. Heth, learning that there was no force of the enemy in the town, sent one of his brigades, Pettigrew's, to go into the place for the purpose of *securing some shoes for his men*. Upon reconnoissance, Gen. Pettigrew reported that there were, apparently, some troops of the enemy there, and asked whether he should advance upon the town. Gen. Heth did not deem it advisable at that moment. On

the next day, July 1st, when the corps had come up, Heth's Division, supported by Pender's, was moved forward on the town, and first struck the advance of the enemy, Buford's cavalry, about two miles in front of Gettysburg, on the Chambersburg road. This cavalry was soon driven back upon the infantry columns advancing to their support, and a spirited action at once commenced. Meantime the army of the Potomac, to the command of which Gen. Meade had just succeeded Gen. Hooker, had been watching and awaiting the movements of Lee's army in the Cumberland valley, and was now advancing speedily upon the Emmettsburg and Taneytown roads, which converge in the south-eastern suburb of Gettysburg. Thus the two armies were, almost without notice, thrown face to face, and a general engagement became unavoidable. Heth's Division, composed of Pettigrew's, Archer's, Joe Davis' and Brockenbrough's Brigades, supported by Pender's Division, at once encountered the First Corps of the enemy, commanded by Gen. Reynolds, and became heavily engaged, but succeeded in driving him back over the Seminary Ridge, and into the town. This was effected with heavy loss, however, to both attacking divisions; to Heth's especially. Gen. Pender was mortally wounded; Heth was severely wounded; Gen. Archer was wounded and taken prisoner. The loss in officers and men, in this brilliant and successful attack, was terrible; but the first point was attained. The loss of the enemy was also heavy; Gen. Reynolds, one of the most distinguished generals of the Federal

army, was killed, early in the action, while forming his line of battle on Seminary Ridge.

Meanwhile the advance of Ewell's Corps, Rode's Division, was coming up on the Carlisle road; and Early's and Edward Johnston's Divisions, on the York and Harrisburg roads, which enter Gettysburg on the north. Rode's Division, co-operating with Heth's and Pender's attack in front, struck the enemy in flank, thus assisting in driving him in confusion into the eastern part of the town, and thence on to Culp's Hill, a strong position, commanding the Baltimore turnpike and whole surrounding country. Rode's Division occupied the greater part of the town itself. This finished the first day's fighting.

It has been argued that, if this early success had been followed up at once, Gen. Meade could never have secured the admirable position he subsequently occupied and held on Cemetery Hill and Ridge. Culp's Hill, the key of the whole position, was at one time partially taken by direct assault, and for some time held by Edward Johnson's Division, but finally he was forced to give it up. Early's Division held Wolf's Hill, just opposite Culp's, and a portion of Johnson's Division, Walker's Brigade, actually crossed the Baltimore turnpike, entirely in the rear of Culp's Hill, and of the force of the enemy holding it. This was on the morning of July 2d. All this while Gen. Meade was moving his army to the south of Culp's Hill and in rear of Cemetery Ridge, on the right, and to the greater and less Round Top

mountains on the extreme left. On the afternoon of the 2d, Longstreet's two divisions, Hood's and McLaw's, being well up on the Chambersburg road, near Cashtown, moved across to the Emmettsburg road, and struck the enemy's left, Sickles' Corps, in front of the Round Tops. Longstreet had waited impatiently for the arrival of Pickett's Division, which was at that time toiling up from Chambersburg, having left that place at daylight that morning, accomplishing a march of twenty-odd miles by two o'clock in the day. Longstreet was very unwilling to make the attack without his whole corps, but was forced to do so at a very late hour in the afternoon. A very gallant and hardly-contested fight was then made for the possession of the Round Tops, a most important position to be secured and held by either side; but, after a stubborn struggle, which lasted until far into the night, having driven the enemy across the Emmettsburg road and through the celebrated peach-orchard, he was obliged to fall back, leaving the enemy in possession of the Round Top, which he subsequently made good use of. Here again, if this attack had been fully sustained and successful, Gen. Meade's position would have been completely turned, and he forced to abandon his strong point of resistance at Gettysburg. To thoroughly comprehend this hypothesis, it is only necessary to examine a map of the locality; and such a map has been carefully and correctly prepared by Col. Batchelder, to which the public have access. It is an *isometrical* map, showing the exact position of the forces at the time, and the pecu-

liar situation of Meade's lines. It has been described, by some, as being almost in the shape of a horseshoe, but this is rather an exaggeration. It was more in the shape of an irregular "S" horizontally placed, or a fish-hook, the stem running from the Round Top, on the left, bulging to the front at Cemetery Hill, and curving back around Culp's Hill to the barb, in rear of his extreme right. Thus Lee's line, confronting, had almost surrounded the position; and, spread out in this way, must have described an irregular arc of some six or seven miles, to which the broken line of the Federal army was a corresponding chord of one-third the distance. In truth, so nearly was Meade's position surrounded, that you might have almost, to use a strong expression, "sent a cloth-yard shaft" from Edward Johnson's men, on the Baltimore road, to Hood's skirmishers, in rear of the Round Top.

While Longstreet was making his attack on the right, a diversion was made on the centre by a portion of Hill's Corps. This ended the second day's conflict.

On the morning of July 3d, there was some heavy fighting, but of short duration, on the left of our lines, about Culp's Hill, and at the same time the three brigades of Pickett's Division present, Armistead's, Garnett's, and Kemper's, were moved to the front and centre of Meade's position, on the Gettysburg heights. Having tried the left and right flank of the enemy unsuccessfully, it seems that Gen. Lee had now determined to try to break through his centre. To lead in this work, Pick-

ett's Men, who had bivouacked, the night before, some four or five miles from the battle-field, after their long march from Chambersburg, and had not yet been engaged, were selected. Moving down Willoughby's Run, they formed line of battle, about seven o'clock in the morning, immediately in front, and a little to the left, of Meade's centre. Hancock's Corps held the centre on Cemetery Ridge, with Howard's Corps on his right, and Sedgewick's, Sykes', and Sickles' on the left. The celebrated charge of Pickett's Men on this disastrous day I have heretofore imperfectly described in detail, and will not repeat here. Upon getting in full view of the enemy's position, the line of attack was naturally directed against the highest point and apparent centre of the enemy. Thus their movement across the open field was necessarily a considerable oblique to the left on their first front. A small clump of trees made the enemy's centre a prominent point of direction.

It has since been ascertained that if Pickett's command had been fortunately moved directly to the front, or still more to the right, it would have struck the weakest point of the enemy's line, about the left of Hancock's Corps, and near the spot where that general was wounded early in the action. But this could not be possibly known at that moment. The ascent from the point of their coming under fire to the enemy's front line, I find upon subsequent examination of the ground, is not so precipitous as it appeared to me on the day of battle, but it is gradual and heavy, enduring for fully *three-*

battle, but could not identify it. He remained unrecognized by any one, among the many dead, and was doubtless buried in the trenches near the spot where he fell. The bodies of our Cols. Hodges and Edmonds were identified by papers found on their persons, and buried in the same manner. Those who were mortally wounded, and died subsequently in the field hospital, were buried separately and their graves marked. I think Cols. Williams and Magruder were among this number. The horrors of this once bloody battle-field have been long since obliterated; crops of grain are now flourishing in this soil, saturated with precious blood; but the exact situation of these hastily opened, and as hastily closed, trenches of the dead is sufficiently well indicated.

The curiosity-seeker will find no upturned bones, or "desecrated remains," staring him in the face, and few trophies of any sort to reward his search.

There are still thousands of bullet-marks on the houses and fences; and mended fractures in walls and chimneys, on every side, mark the destruction by shot and shell. At one point of the battle-field, especially, I have never seen elsewhere such evidence of a close infantry conflict. On the north-east side of Culp's Hill, the forest trees are completely riddled with musket-balls; so much so, that all of the large trees are literally killed by the sapping of their eternal life and excoriation by the shot.

The vast Union cemetery at Gettysburg, with its imposing monument, and thousands of graves, will be a lasting memento of this greatest and most decisive battle

of the war. No one will doubt that here was the grand turning-point of the struggle.

Success for the Confederate arms on this one great field would have gone very far, if not the whole distance, towards the practical ending of the war. The army of the Potomac, thoroughly beaten at this point, would have left Baltimore and Washington in the hands of Gen. Lee. Recognition of the Southern Confederacy by foreign powers would have, most probably, followed immediately, and a peace have been concluded within ninety days—the period first allowed by the government for the duration of the “Rebellion.” Neither was it then known, nor yet has it been told, how near the first of these propositions was to realization.

Upon the various speculations as to what *might* have been done, and the probable results of events unaccomplished, I have little to say. The deductions of a mere citizen-soldier are of no valuable consideration. It has been contended that a more concentrated attack upon either of Meade's flanks would have forced him to abandon his strong position at Gettysburg. Be this as it may; I have sufficiently high authority to induce me to believe *now* that if the desperate attack made upon his centre had been fully sustained, as Gen. Lee intended it, the line would have been thoroughly broken through at that point; and the army of the Potomac cut in half. It has been generally understood in the Southern Army, that Gen. Meade had massed his troops on the centre to meet the expected attack, but I am satisfied now that

he could not have spared from his menaced flanks any considerable force, to have strongly reinforced, or to have been held in reserve, of Hancock's main line.

Let any one examine Batchelder's map, heretofore referred to, whereon the exact positions of the different Federal commands are marked, which positions, by means of this assembly of officers at Gettysburg, have been made a matter of ascertained history, and, I think, this assumption of fact will be sustained. I could mark out upon this map, also, the point to which Pickett's handful of men penetrated, and where, I believe, had they been supported by one or two more good brigades, that portion of the lines would have been fully carried. This opinion, I know, was entertained by many of the officers who were in that charge, and captured within the lines of the enemy.

Whereas this repulse of Lee's army was a crushing blow to the success of the campaign, and perhaps decisive of the grand struggle of the South, its immediate results were by no means a complete victory for the North. Gen. Lee had his army sufficiently well in hand to have met any advance, and it would have fared badly, perhaps, with Gen. Meade, if he had considered his army in condition to have followed up his temporary advantage. After remaining quietly in position, awaiting an attack, during July 4, Lee withdrew his army steadily and slowly over his own ground, even bringing off Ewell's Corps from the extreme left, without molestation.

Pursuing the Fairfield road and crossing the South

Mountain, he halted again between Hagerstown and Williamsport, where he threw up entrenchments, and invited an attack from Gen. Meade for several days. The Potomac River being too much swollen to permit passage by ford, at Williamsport, Lee crossed his army into Virginia, on a pontoon bridge at Falling Waters, without further loss; safely convoying his four thousand prisoners in advance.

Thus was concluded the Pennsylvania campaign of 1863; a bold and well conceived movement, though unsuccessful in its results.

A P P E N D I X .

APPENDIX.

LIST OF GENERAL, FIELD, AND STAFF OFFICERS OF PICKETT'S DIVISION.

Major-Gen. George E. Pickett, commanding, wounded,
Gaine's Mill, 1862.

Major Charles Pickett, A. A. Gen., wounded, Frazer's
Farm, 1862.

Major Walter Harrison, A. A. and Ins.-Gen., Lieut.-Col.
46th Infantry, 1862.

Capt. Robert Johnston, A. A. A. Gen., Col. cavalry,
1861-2.

Major Charles W. Chancellor, Chief Surgeon, 1862-3.

“ M. M. Lewis, Chief Surgeon, 1863-5.

“ James A. McAlpine, Medical Inspector, 1864-5.

“ R. Taylor Scott, Chief Q. M.

“ Horace W. Jones, Chief C. S.

Capt. David Meade, Asst. Q. M.

“ Thomas P. Wallace, Asst. Q. M.

“ Wm. B. Edmonds, Asst. Q. M.

“ A. W. Williams, Paymaster of Division, 1864-5.

“ W. Douglas Stuart, Chief Engineer Officer.

First Lieut. John S. Morson, Asst. Engineer Officer.

Capt. Howe P. Cochran, Chief Ordnance Officer, 1864-5.
First Lieut. Samuel. G. Leitch, Chief Ordnance Officer,

1862-4.

- “ “ Edward R. Baird, Aide-de-Camp.
 - “ “ W. Stuart Symington, Aide-de-Camp.
 - “ “ Robert A. Bright, Aide-de-Camp.
 - “ “ I. W. Gossett, 2d S. C. Infantry, Provost Guard.
 - “ “ F. Brooke, 30th Va. Infantry, Provost Guard.
- Capt. Raymond Fairfax (promoted Major 1864), 17th Va. Infantry, Pioneer Corps.
- “ Charles Floyd, Asst. Q. M., 1861, Division Sutler.

ORDERLIES AND COURIERS AT DIVISION HEADQUARTERS.

Harrie Hough, 17th Va., Chief Clerk.
Richard Avery, Asst. Chief Clerk.
Robert Hempston, Orderly.
Thomas R. Friend, Orderly.
James Ryals, Orderly.
Martin Van Buren Campbell, Orderly.
George Stultz, 24th Va., Orderly.

GARNETT'S BRIGADE.

- Brig.-Gen. Richard B. Garnett, killed, Gettysburg, July 3, 1863.
- “ Eppa Hunton, wounded, Gettysburg, July 3, 1863.

Capt. Charles F. Linthicum, A. A. G., killed, Cold Harbor, 1864.

“ Edmund C. Fitzhugh, A. A. G., wounded, Hatcher’s Run, 1865.

“ James D. McIntyre, A. A. A. G., 1862, First Lieut. 19th Va. Infantry.

“ Henry D. Danforth, A. A. A. G. and Ordnance Officer.

“ Charles F. Berkeley, A. Inspector, First Lieut. 8th Va. Infantry.

Major Sam’l A. McConkey, Chief Surgeon.

“ S. Longwith Lewis, Chief Q. M., 1861–2.

“ George T. Jones, Chief Q. M., 1862–5.

“ James Johnson, Chief C. S.

First Lieut. John Simpkins Jones, A. D. C., wounded, Cold Harbor, 1864.

“ “ Thomas R. Harrison, A. D. C., wounded and taken prisoner, Gettysburg.

“ “ J. C. Griswold, A. A. D. C., 1864.

“ “ W. S. Fowler, Vol. A. D. C.

ARMISTEAD’S BRIGADE.

Brig.-Gen. Lewis A. Armistead, killed, Gettysburg, July 3, 1863.

“ Seth M. Barton, commanding, 1863–4.

“ George H. Stewart, commanding, 1864–5.

Capt. James D. Darden, A. A. Gen., wounded, Gettysburg, 1863.

Capt. Peyton Randolph, A. Inspector, promoted Major Engineers, 1863.

“ Wm. L. Randolph, Chief Ordnance Officer.

Majors J. N. McAlpine and Jno. Spottswood Welford, Surgeons.

“ R. H. Carter, Chief Q. M.

“ W. H. Herbert, Chief C. S.

First Lieut. W. Keith Armistead, A. D. C.

KEMPER'S BRIGADE.

Brig.-Gen. James L. Kemper, severely wounded, Gettysburg, 1863.

“ William R. Terry, commanding, 1863-5, wounded, Gettysburg, 1863.

Capt. William O. Fry, A. A. Gen., wounded, Gettysburg, 1863.

“ Thomas Gordon Pollock, A. Ins., killed, Gettysburg, 1863.

First Lieut. George E. Geiger, A. D. C., killed, Gettysburg, 1863.

Capt. Herbert Bryant, A. A. Gen., 1864-5, wounded.

“ William Galt Allen, A. A. Ins., 1864, wounded.

“ Kinlock Nelson, Ordnance Officer.

First Lieut. Valentine Harris, A. D. C., killed, Sailor's Creek, April, 1865.

Major Charles B. Morton, Chief Surgeon.

“ N. R. Crisler, Q. M.

“ James W. Green, C. S.

Majors—John Dooley, died since war; Wm. H. Palmer, wounded, and promoted A. A. G., Hill's Corps; George Norton, wounded, Gettysburg, 1863, served through war.

3d Virginia.

Cols.—Roger A. Pryor, promoted Brig.-Gen., 1862; Joseph Mayo, Jr., wounded, Gettysburg.

Lieut.-Cols.—A. D. Colcott, killed, Gettysburg; Wm. H. Pryor.

Major John D. Whitehead.

7th Virginia.

Cols.—James L. Kemper, promoted Brig.-Gen., 1862, Major-Gen., 1864; W. Tazewell Patton, killed, Gettysburg; C. C. Floweree, 1863-5.

Lieut.-Cols.—Lewis B. Williams, Jr.; C. Swindler, wounded and prisoner, Gettysburg.

Major J. Popham.

8th Virginia.

Cols.—Eppa Hunton, promoted Brig.-Gen., 1863; Norbourne Berkeley, wounded, Gettysburg.

Lieut.-Col. Edmund Berkeley, wounded, Gettysburg.

Majors—Wm. N. Berkeley, wounded, Gettysburg; — Swift, killed, Seven Pines.

9th Virginia.

Cols.—David Goodwin; J. Owens, killed, Gettysburg; J. J. Philips, wounded.

Lieut.-Cols.—David Funsten, wounded ; Wm. Munford ; Grayson Tyler.

Majors—George Brent ; R. H. Simpson, killed, Drewry's Farm ; Raymond Fairfax.

18th Virginia.

Cols.—Robert E. Withers, wounded and disabled, Gaine's Mill ; Henry A. Carrington, wounded.

Lieut.-Col. George C. Cabell.

Major Edmund R. Cocke.

19th Virginia.

Cols.—Armistead Rust, 1861 ; J. B. Strange, killed, Sharpsburg, 1862 ; Henry Gantt, wounded, Gettysburg.

Lieut.-Cols.—G. W. Carr ; John T. Ellis, killed, Gettysburg ; Charles S. Peyton, wounded, Gettysburg, after having lost an arm previously ; Bennett Taylor, wounded, Gettysburg.

Major Waller M. Boyd.

24th Virginia.

Cols.—Jubal A. Early, wounded, and promoted Lieut.-Gen. ; Wm. R. Terry, wounded, and promoted Brig.-Gen. ; Richard L. Maury, wounded, Drewry's Farm, and disabled, 1864.

Lieut.-Cols.—Peter Hairston ; J. A. Hambrick, killed, Drewry's Farm ; Wm. W. Bentley.

28th Virginia.

Cols.—Robert F. Preston, 1861; Robert Allen, killed, Gettysburg; Wm. Watts, 1863-5.
Lieut.-Cols.—Sam'l B. Paul, 1861; Wm. L. Wingfield.
Major M. P. Spessard.

29th Virginia.

Cols.—Austin Moore; James Giles.
Majors—Haines; Brewster; both killed.

30th Virginia.

Cols.—R. Milton Cary, 1861; Archy T. Harrison; Robert S. Chew.
Lieut.-Col. J. M. Gouldin.
Majors—Wm. S. Barton, 1861; R. O. Peatross.

32d Virginia.

Col. Edgar B. Montague.
Lieut.-Col. W. R. Willis.
Major Baker P. Lee.

38th Virginia.

Cols.—E. C. Edmonds, killed, Gettysburg; George K. Griggs.
Lieut.-Cols.—Powhatan B. Whittle, wounded, and made Col. Military Court; Joseph C. Cabell, killed, Drewry's Farm, 1864.

53d Virginia.

Cols.—Harrison B. Tomlin, 1861; J. Grammer; Wm. R. Aylett, wounded, Gettysburg.

Lieut.-Cols.—E. B. Montague; Raleigh W. Martin.

Majors—H. A. Edmondson; J. C. Timberlake; —
Ramsey.

56th Virginia.

Cols.—W. D. Stuart, killed, Gettysburg; Wm. E. Green,
wounded; Peyton P. Slaughter, wounded and dis-
abled, Gaine's Mill.

Lieut.-Col. Tim Smith.

Major J. B. McPhail.

57th Virginia.

Cols.—Lewis A. Armistead, promoted; E. F. Keene; J.
B. Magruder, killed, Gettysburg; and C. R. Fon-
taine.

Lieut.-Col. B. F. Wade, killed, Gettysburg.

Major W. Hickman.

FIELD AND COMPANY OFFICERS OF THE 38TH BATTALION
VIRGINIA ARTILLERY.

Major James Dearing, Chief of Artillery, 1862–3, promot-
ed Brig.-Gen. cavalry, 1864, and killed, April 6,
1865.

“ J. W. P. Reade, wounded, Gettysburg, and pro-
moted Lieut.-Col., 1864.

“ Robert M. Stribling, 1864–5.

Adjt. Thos. Lewis.

RICHMOND FAYETTE ARTILLERY, OR MACON'S BATTERY.

Capt. H. Coalter Cabell, promoted Col. artillery.

“ Miles C. Macon, killed, Appomattox, April, 1865.

First Lieut. W. J. Clopton, promoted Capt., 1865.

“ “ Matthew P. Taylor, 1861.

“ “ W. W. Jones.

“ “ Ben. Robinson.

Second Lieut. Peyton Johnston, Jr., killed, Cold Harbor,
1864.

“ “ Robert R. Fleming.

HAMPDEN, OR CASKIE'S, BATTERY.

Capt. Lawrence S. Marye, 1861.

“ Wm. H. Caskie, 1862-4, promoted Major artillery.

“ J. E. Sullivan, 1864-5.

First Lieut. James Pleasants, promoted Capt. ordnance.

“ “ David S. Watson, M.D., promoted Major,
Surgeon cavalry.

“ “ Alfred R. Courtney, promoted Major artil-
lery.

“ “ Theodore C. Duvall.

“ “ George C. Thomas, died in service.

“ “ Thomas B. McCurdy.

“ “ Samuel Chapman.

“ “ Lewis Booker.

FAUQUIER ARTILLERY, OR STRIBLING'S.

Capt. Robert. M. Stribling, promoted Major of battalion,
1864.

“ Wm. C. Marshall.

First Lieut. James H. Kidwell, 1861-2.

“ “ Wm. N. Green, 1861.

“ “ Gray Carroll, 1861-5.

“ “ J. M. Rogers, 1861-2.

“ “ T. Marshall Archer, 1862-4.

LATHAM'S, DEARING'S, OR BLOUNT'S, OF LYNCHBURG.

Capt. H. Gray Latham, 1861, promoted Major and Surgeon.

“ James Dearing, 1862-3, promoted Brig.-Gen. cavalry, 1864.

“ J. R. Blount, 1864-5.

First Lieut. I. W. Fowlkes.

“ “ Davison.

“ “ L. Clarke Leftwich.

THE END.

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